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JEWISH ROOTS IN THE CAROLINAS

A Pattern of American Philo-Semitism

By

HARRY L. GOLDEN

Published by The Carolina Israelite, Charlotte, N. C.

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Dedicated to the memory of
Josephus Daniels,
James Street, Howard Odum, and William Polk

The one great cause to which these Southerners devoted their superior talents may be epitomized in this principal:— all human progress and happiness are derived from liberty of thought and conscience.

I am indebted to
Joseph L. Morrison
Faculty, School of Journalism
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research and most of the
enthusiasm.

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FOREWORD

In the British House of Commons a bill for the removal of the political disabilities of the Jews was the subject of parliamentary discussion. Lord Macaulay rose to answer the arguments of the opposition:— (1)

“Nobody knows better than my honorable friend, the member for the University of Oxford, that there is nothing in their (Jews) character which unfits them for the highest duties of citizens. My honorable friend knows that in the infancy of civilization, when our island was as savage as New Guinea, when letters and art were still unknown to Athens, when scarcely a thatched hut stood on what was afterwards the site of Rome, this condemned people had their fenced cities and cedar palaces, their splendid temple, their fleets of merchant ships, their schools of sacred learning, their great statesmen and soldiers, their natural philosophers, their historians, and their poets.

“What nation ever contended more fully against overwhelming odds for its independence and religion? What nation ever, in its last agonies, gave such signal proofs of what may be accomplished by a brave despair? And if, in the course of the many centuries, the depressed descendants of warriors and sages have degenerated from the qualities of their fathers; if, while excluded from the blessings of law and bowed down under the yoke of slavery, they have contracted the vices of our society, shall we consider it as a matter of reproach to them?

Shall we not rather consider it as a matter of shame and remorse to ourselves? Let us do justice to them. Let us open to them the door of the House of Commons. Let us open to them every career in which ability and energy can be displayed. Till we have done this let us not presume to say that there is no genius among the countrymen of Isaiah, no heroism among the descendants of the Maccabees.”

In essence Lord Macaulay gave us the key to the history of the Jewish people in the English-speaking world. There would be no “story” to tell (at least no happy story) in the absence of that political freedom hammered out bit by bit by the Jeffersons of Virginia, the Macons and the Pinckneys of the Carolinas, and the Macaulays of England. If these English-Americans had not prevailed there would have been precious little opportunity to exercise that “ability and energy” for the establishment of individual dignity, group prestige, and civic enterprise.

In this monograph I discuss the results of that "ability and energy" within the framework of the free political society. I have made no attempt to write a chronological sequence of names and the events concerned with that history. I am certain that many of the names I have omitted on the contemporary scene, as well as in the past, are no less worthy than those I have recorded. My sole purpose was to set forth the pattern of Jewish life. While the "action" in this study "takes place" in the Carolinas, I am certain that the sociological generalizations will hold for the rest of the South, excepting of course Florida, and probably Louisiana, which require separate studies.

You will note that I have referred to this study as "**A Pattern of American Philo-Semitism.**" There are some who may see an inconsistency in this title, not only from some personal experience, but from some of my own observations.

The point I hope to establish, however, is that this "most Gentile" section of America has provided the most favorable "atmosphere" the Jewish people have known in the modern world.

Harry L. Golden

CAUSERIE

There was nothing supernatural about the Roman destruction of Jerusalem and the dispersion of the Jewish people. It is nonsense to see in this event anything but the operation of physical forces of the most ordinary kind. The fall of Jerusalem was not even an extraordinary historical occurrence. Razing cities to the ground was a customary Roman act. Carthage was a great civilization—the great broker-city of antiquity. The Carthagenians had extensive lines of trade and cultural communication with their Roman second-cousins. But that did not help them. Scipio razed Carthage, burned it to the ground and scattered the Carthagenians to the four winds. Scattering peoples was a Roman habit, a form of past-time, a characteristic Roman procedure. Caesar destroyed dozens of Gallic cities and scattered Gauls throughout the world. From the Thames to the Jordan, for nearly four hundred years, the Romans razed cities and scattered peoples. The Romans, however, gave us Law. But they did not give kindness. Roman legionnaires did not distribute chocolate-bars to the children of their defeated enemies. The Romans gave us the fabric of our system of government, but they did not give us brotherly love, chivalry, sportsmanship, nor even mercy. Neither Hannibal, nor Mithradites, nor Bar Cochba, nor Vercingetrox, nor Jugurtha, the greatest of her enemies, received any consideration, and Cleopatra, the most glamorous of her opponents, committed suicide rather than face the humiliation of a Roman triumph.

One aspect about the fall of Jerusalem did not follow the usual pattern, however. The Jews were scattered like all the others, but unlike the others they lived on and on. Wherever they went they "carried" Jerusalem with them. No trace now exists of Assyrians, Medes, Persians, ancient Greeks and the ancient conquerors themselves. But for the Jews the destruction of Jerusalem was merely a new "beginning". Eventually the spirit of the scattered Jews conquered both the mind and the empire of the Romans. They did it with an Idea and the Book. The Romans worshiped a whole host of greater and lesser gods who inhabited the streams, the ocean and the mountain tops. Against this the scattered Jews pitted their Idea of The One God. Eventually this Idea destroyed the Temples of the Great Goddess of the Vestal Virgins and the hundreds of other temples of the Roman polytheism.

If you think about this for a moment, you will see that it must necessarily be part of the story we are writing here—it must be part of any story about the Jewish people, anywhere.

The Romans did not have a Book. When the barbarians from the northern forests finally scattered the Roman armies

there was nothing left to hold them together. A Book is the key to SURVIVAL. The Parsis had a Book, and they are still with us, vigorous, happy and wealthy. They live in Bombay, and though few in number, represent the backbone of India's overseas commerce. The Mongols started from where the sun rises and swept across one-sixth of the surface of the earth. They conquered a dozen civilizations, none of which is even a memory. None of these peoples had a Book.

Since the 15th century the Arabs have lived in the semi-darkness of poverty, feudalism, and trachoma, but they, too, have survived. They, too, have a Book. After they were chased out of Europe, it was the Jews who kept Arabian scholarship and culture alive in the Western World. Now the Jews are bringing the leaven of the Western World to the Middle East. Someday the Arabs will thank their neighbor Israel for the intellectual and cultural re-awakening of Islam. The **Koran** was the first Book that referred to the Jews as:—"the people of **The Book**."

In the reign of Augustus you couldn't travel a half a mile in any direction without seeing a handsome-looking troupe of Roman soldiers. Many of the big blonds from the Northern forests had finished their training as Roman legionnaires. They were well-equipped, well fed; and took great pride in their Roman status. They were pampered favorites in the Roman world. Presently a Jew came along. A Jew whom the Christians call St. Paul, and he conquered the whole structure, legionnaires and all, and he did it with a Book—the Jewish Book. This is the most amazing conquest of all.

You cannot destroy a people with a Book. The great proselytizing religion, Christianity, has made few converts among people who already have a Book. It was easier to convert twenty million Romans without a Book than twenty thousand Parsis with their Book of Zoroaster. At least King Edward I of England gave the Jews a sporting chance in the year 1290. All they had to do was "become Christians" and they could keep their wealth, their homes, and their status in the community. But they all left. They left everything behind. It wasn't until 1655 and Oliver Cromwell that a Jew could live in England again, that is, legally. All other peoples who have a Book, including, of course, the Christians themselves, have made a similar choice time and time again. The only mass conversions Christianity has made have been among the peoples who did not yet have a Book; Romans, Huns, Visigoths, Gauls, Danes, Britons, Celts, Saxons, the Teutonic tribes of the North; Tartars and Slavic peoples of the steppes, and the black races of Africa.

The Book means more than survival. The Jews did not despise the Romans as masters and conquerors, as did the Gauls,

Goths, Parthians, Carthaginians, and others. The Jews despised the Romans as idolaters and barbarians. There is a difference. And the Romans, for their part, hated the Jews in Palestine with great passion. The conqueror loves only those who stand in awe of him. "How nice". "How polite". "The housewives are so neat". "They keep the kitchen so clean". This is the reward of servility. The Jews were not impressed with the Romans. What made Pompey, Vespasian, Titus, and Hadrian so mad was that the Jews weren't impressed with them. They weren't impressed with Rome, the Romans, their standards, their gods, their conquests and their legions. Out of this Roman anger came frustration. This was to become the occupational disease of all anti-semites since the Roman conquest. The mob descends upon a Jewish community and kills the inhabitants. The next day it turns out that there had been two survivors, two old fellows who had hidden in the hills. And what are the two survivors doing? They are busy. They are repairing the bindings on some books. One fellow is mixing paste and the other is cutting leather. Frustrating. Even the Roman poets and historians were overly concerned with the inhabitants or the former inhabitants of this one small province of the great Roman Empire. Ovid wrote: "**Their Sabbath is a lugubrious day.**" Cicero said: **Their barbarous superstitions must be fought.**" Pliny the Elder said the Jews are "a race famous for its contempt of the gods." (2)

Today, in 1955, the Jews are back in Jerusalem with the thread of history unbroken. It is more than a continuity with history. It is vitality, optimism, and the unendingness of human scholarship. The French Nobel-prize novelist, Romain Rolland, put it this way:—"The Jews are the people who weave, on all sides, the network of human unity. They demolish the intellectual barriers between the nations in order to make the field open to Divine Reason." (3)

300 YEARS OF CITIZENSHIP IN AMERICA

The American Jewish community recently marked the 300th anniversary of first Jewish settlement in what is now the United States. In September, 1654, twenty-three Jews landed on Manhattan Island. They were travelers in search of freedom who won for themselves and for their descendants the right to citizenship, the right to worship as Jews, and the right to enjoy the opportunities of freedom in America.

When we think in terms of the Jewish experience anywhere, the historian has one great advantage. He may approach the record of the entire history of human progression with rich rewards in source material. The Jew is a fixture in the index of recorded human experience. Thus when we discuss a fragment of this experience in the Carolinas, for instance, we may go back, if we wish to another Roman; the historian Tacitus. In his account of the funeral of Julius Caesar, Tacitus recorded that **"The Jews remained for three days to intone their ancient funeral chants."** (4) It is therefore the Roman historian who gives the clue to the true "Jewish" contribution to our society. The Jew was considered "ancient" some nineteen centuries ago, yet he has appeared in each of the eras of history with the enthusiasm of a newly-arrived immigrant. Contemporaneous with all of recorded history, he has refused to rest on the laurels of his "glorious" past. Neither has he brooded too long over the horrors of an Inquisitor Torquemada, a Cossack Chmielnitski, or the Teutonic fury, Hitler. Instead, the Jew is now what he has been through all history, an eternal optimist, with both a sense of humor, and an undiminished vitality. His "contribution" to America is that while he looks into our modern world through the eyes of all former ages, his one burning desire at this moment is to become a member of the board of directors of the Community Chest of his town; of each of the cities and towns in which he lives. This zest for life, this life-affirmation, is the true Jewish "contribution" to the Carolinas; to America, to civilization.

IN THE CAROLINAS

In approaching his subject, the Jewish historian must be wary of a pitfall;—the danger that racial pride may cause him to blow up a few names out of all proportion to their proper place in the building of a great society. The Carolinas, of course, are now, and have been from the beginning, a predominantly Gentile society.

Yet the fact itself (the preponderant Gentile section of America), offers an unusual opportunity to study the “ingredients” which have coalesced into the completely free society, and which in specific terms of the Carolinas (and the South) may rightfully be called a 300-year-old pattern of American philo-Semitism.

What then are these “ingredients”? One point in particular impresses itself immediately. The new 18th century attitude toward the Jews was not an American innovation, but a common development of the Anglo-Saxon world. It was not geography that ameliorated the savage prejudices of the Old World, but an idea—a Humanism which had its roots in the Anglo-Calvinist-Dutch Reformed tradition of the British Isles and Holland. (5) When the Dutch lost Brazil to Portugal the Jews again had to seek out Dutch or Anglo-Saxons, and that is how they came to establish the first settlement on this continent in the year 1654. It was specifically this Atlantic-Puritan nexus which produced a Roger Williams in New England, a William Penn in Pennsylvania, and a John Locke in the Carolinas. They gave expression to this new Idea, of which the philosopher — Rabbi Leo Baeck—has said:—” . . . it broke all ties with antiquity . . . it no longer carried the Middle Ages on its back.” (6) Immediately in the wake of the French Huguenots, Germans, Moravians, Quakers, and Jews, this Anglo-Saxon society in the Carolinas invited the philosopher John Locke to lay the foundation for a new tradition in terms of this Idea. In the same year (1668) that the Ukrainian Boidan Chmielnitski was massacring more than a half-million Jews in Eastern Europe, Locke wrote the **Fundamental Constitutions** (7) for the Carolinas;—“. . . in as ample manner as they (the people) might desire, freedom and liberty of conscience in all religious or spiritual things.” The Constitutions expressly stated that as “Jews, heathens, and other dissenters” might be induced to settle in the Colony, “any seven or more persons agreeing in any religion shall constitute a church or profession.”

In the same year (1776) that the “liberal” Frederick the Great restricted the number of Jewish marriages to a minimum per annum (and then only on condition that the couple would buy three hundred dollars worth of chinaware from his royal

porcelain factory) Thomas Jefferson and America emblazoned the sky with the Declaration that **"all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with the inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."**

These Anglo-Saxons who left their country and faced the dangers of the ocean to seek in the wilderness of North America the right to worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience had created a new idea in human relations. And for the first time in the entire history of the Dispersion, the Jews did not enter a new land under sufferance, nor even by "negotiation." The Anglo-Saxons had eliminated the "host" and "guest" relationship. The immigrant of today was by right the "host" of tomorrow. But so far-reaching an advance in intellectual humanism could not come overnight. The precursors of this Americanism did not quite know from the beginning how to solve the problem of the relation of their faiths to this new idea. The Anglican Church attempted to establish the pattern merely by weight of numbers. In North Carolina this tradition persisted, at least on paper, for nearly a century after the establishment of the Bill of Rights. A constitutional provision forbade public office to anyone who denied the **"being of God or the truth of the Protestant religion, or the divine authority of either the Old or New Testament or who shall hold religious principles incompatible with the freedom and safety of the State."** It is pertinent to our study to note carefully that during the entire ninety-year debate for the repeal of this provision, I have been unable to uncover a single derogatory reference to the Jews, as a people. The provision involved Catholics, Jews, Quakers, and Deists, and was clearly in conflict with Article 19 of the Bill of Rights. But there was no pride in this Constitutional provision, and, as a matter of fact, Catholics, Jews, Quakers, and Deists had held public office. An effort to expel Jacob Henry, a Jew, had failed in 1809. (8). Jacob Henry was elected to the State Legislature in 1808. A year later, upon reflection, an opponent tried to unseat him and based his action upon the provision in the State Constitution which required **"belief in the divine authority of the New Testament."** Henry addressed the Legislature:

"It is difficult to conceive how such a provision crept into the Constitution, unless it is from the difficulty the human mind feels in suddenly emancipating itself from fetters by which it has long been enchained

"If a man should hold religious principles incompatible with the freedom and safety of the State, I do not hesitate to pronounce that he should be excluded from the public councils of the same; and I trust if I know myself, no one would be more ready to aid and assist than my-

self. But I should really be at a loss to specify any known religious principles which are thus dangerous. It is surely a question between a man and his Maker, and requires more than human attributes to pronounce which of the numerous sects prevailing in the world is most acceptable to the Deity. If a man fulfills the duties of that religion, which his education or his conscience has pointed to him as the true one, no person, I hold, in this, our land of liberty, has a right to arraign him at the bar of any inquisition; and the day, I trust, has long passed, when principles merely speculative were propagated by force; when the sincere and pious were made victims, and the light-minded bribed into hypocrites. Governments only concern the actions and conduct of man, and not his speculative notions Shall this free country set an example of persecution, which even the returning reason of enslaved Europe would not submit to? Will you bind the conscience in chains? Will you drive from your shores and from the shelter of your Constitution all who do not lay their oblations on the same altar, observe the same ritual, and subscribe to the same dogmas? If so, which among the various sects into which we are divided, shall be the favored one . . . ?”

The Legislature allowed Henry to keep his seat on a technicality. The fight went on. John Branch, James Iredell, W. N. Edwards, William Gaston, and particularly Nathaniel Macon, were the Tar Heel statesmen who kept the struggle alive until the final elimination of the disability clause. Henry's speech was reprinted in a book called the “American Orator,” and made a profound impression even outside of North Carolina. In speaking on the Maryland Jew Bill, in 1818, the Hon. H. M. Brackenridge said: “In the State of North Carolina there is a memorable instance on record of an attempt to expel Mr. Henry, a Jew, from the legislative body of which he had been elected a member. The speech delivered on that occasion I hold in my hand. It is published in a collection called the ‘American Orator,’ a book given to your children at school and containing those republican truths you wish to see earliest implanted in their minds. Mr. Henry prevailed, and it is part of our education as Americans to love and cherish the sentiments uttered by him on that occasion.”

Let us turn our attention to England again. The Catholics were admitted to the British House of Commons in 1828; the Jews in 1858; and the rationalists who refused to take an oath in the name of any God, in 1884. It was no coincidence that North Carolina followed (the Mother Country) in almost perfect chronological order. (9).

In South Carolina we find that an anomalous condition arose. The State Constitution established by the Provincial Congress contained no religious liberty provision. Neither did it provide for any religious test. The Episcopalians had been given legal status, and while the church made no attempt to interfere with the religious freedom of other sects, there was always a chance that a liberal atmosphere could change. Legislation is the key to our American freedom. **Put it on the books.** Nothing is as important as that. A Presbyterian clergyman, Rev. William Tennent, saw the danger. He called for law — a statute specifically guaranteeing religious freedom (10). In the session of 1778 his efforts were rewarded. He won the support of three political stalwarts, General Gadsden, Charles Pinckney, and Rawlins Lowndes. In 1790 a new constitution was adopted which granted full religious rights to all, including all civil privileges to Catholics, Jews, and free thinkers. South Carolina went further even than Virginia. In its constitution granting religious and civil freedom, the South Carolinians, after listing a few of the minority sects, added the phrase: “. . . and all of mankind.” Charles Pinckney was the man. Quite a man. He was chairman of the 1790 convention and the principal agent in removing forever all civil and political disabilities that had been imposed on Jews and other minorities in South Carolina. Mr. Pinckney was obsessed with the ideas of Religious and Political Freedom. Remember that he was a delegate to the Federal Constitution Convention in 1787. He kept hammering away at the idea of religious and political freedom. He proposed: **The legislature of the United States shall pass no law on the subject of religion.** That did not satisfy him entirely. Again he sent up a proposal: **“No religious test or qualification shall ever be annexed to any office under the United States.”** They were discussing the oath of office. Pinckney thought about that for awhile. He proposed that after the word “oath” the phrase “or affirmation” be added. Pinckney was thinking of Quakers and others who may not wholly subscribe to the idea of taking an oath. He wanted a clause in the Constitution to read: **“No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the authority of the United States.”** Mr. Pinckney had another suggestion. He wanted the United States to establish a national university. Mr. James Madison associated himself with Mr. Pinckney on this idea — and again in his university proposal Mr. Pinckney left nothing to chance: **“. . . to establish an university in which no preference or distinction should be allowed on account of religion.”** Gouverneur Morris objected to the university idea. Mr. Morris’ contention was that the “central government” already had the power to establish a university if it saw fit to do so, and therefore the motion was unnecessary. The proposal was defeated with **South**

Carolina, Virginia, and Pennsylvania voting in the affirmative. Mr. Pinckney was a philosopher. He could see all too well that the minds of men, and of nations, are not wholly excellent, nor uninterruptedly independent. Therefore he hoped that when arrogance and fear or some other self-deceiving emotion plays upon us, we will be well fortified to withstand the threat.

When I think of Mr. Charles Pinckney of South Carolina, I recall what Clarence Darrow once said: "There is always **one** man." There was always one man in every age, in every country, in every benighted corner of the world, in every dark era of our history; one man who stood up and said: "**This far and no farther;**" one man was always there who fought for human dignity. Because of Pinckney and others like him, Bernard M. Baruch's portrait hangs in the State Capitol at Columbia.

The General Gadsden of this fight for religious freedom in South Carolina had learned Hebrew from his Jewish fellow captives during his long imprisonment by the British in the American Revolution. He made a handsome present to the **Beth Elohim** Congregation at Charleston. He presented them with the **Mishnah** and the works of Maimonides in Hebrew (11). Nearly a half-century earlier, John Wesley, founder of the Church of Methodism, studied Spanish in order to converse with the Jews of Savannah, Georgia. And a hundred years earlier in 1655 Harvard College established a chair in Hebrew under Judah Monis "for the education of the English and Indian youth in knowledge and godliness" (12).

In the constitutional process of the free society, religious freedom is the last to be developed and to become perfect, as demonstrated by the example of England and America, as well as after the French Revolution. The memories of common persecutions, however, were finally the cause, through necessary evolution, of the glorious and full emancipation of religion, taught to the world by the English-speaking civilization.

When we discuss the Jewish people of the Carolinas we are on solid ground when we look at them as a "continuing" culture and tradition. This is true not only of the Jew, but of all our peoples. Certainly the mind and the heart of two sections of North Carolina reflect more than the physical presence of Moravians and Waldensians but go back to their roots in the forests of Bohemia and the Po Valley. And what we call the "American way of life" within our Carolina society, is anchored deeply in the traditions and cultures of the British Isles. Thus it is proper that we approach the history of the Jewish people, as a people—as a continuing cultural and religious group; and on that basis our findings dwarf the combined influence of all the individuals within the group over these entire 300 years. This influence is clearly stamped upon the consciousness of

North Carolina and South Carolina, as indeed it is stamped upon the whole of the Christian civilization. You have but to travel a few miles in any direction to come under its influence; — Pisgah, Cedars of Lebanon. Mount Olive, Mount Gilead, Mt. Hebron, Nebo, Ararat, Winston-Salem; and at every crossroads, the inscription: "This way to Beth El Chapel". And Jacob called the place Beth El. House of God. And from the pulpit of every church of every denomination, the Hebraic ideal:— (13)

It hath been told thee, O Man, what is good,
And what the Lord doth require of thee;
Only to do justice, and to love mercy, and
to walk humbly with thy God.

In this interpretation of our history the life of the Jewish people within this society takes on its proper perspective; the substance which it has in truth transferred to the ebb and flow of the daily life of the Gentile community in which it has lived in peace and prosperity.

It has a further historical significance. In fact it assumes great proportions in keeping with the history of America as a nation; the story of the transplanting of the Nordic, Mediterranean and African cultures which compose the fabric of this country. Look at it once, a few scattered settlements along the Atlantic seaboard. Look at it again, a mighty nation — the mightiest nation the world has ever seen. Where did they come from? Clerks and soldiers from England, seamen from Scotland, laborers from Ireland, miners from Wales, peasants from Italy, woodcutters from Sweden, farmers from Germany, tailors from Russia, Negroes from Africa; Christian and Jew, the pious and the unchurched, the disinherited and the adventurers, the persecuted, the tired and the homeless;—and they became Americans—Americans all. Woodrow Wilson was right—America is nothing except in terms of every one of them.

EARLY BEGINNINGS

The earliest Jews in the Carolinas undoubtedly came from the Barbadoes of Spanish-Portuguese origin. Since early Jewish settlers established the indigo trade in America, we may assume that many of these traders and exporters were established along the Carolina seacoast. But the earliest name of record in North Carolina appears to be that of Aaron Moses, who appears as a witness to a will in 1740. (14) In 1750 we run across a petition to a council by David David for a grant of 180 acres of land at New Hanover. His petition was granted, and in 1752 David David appears on the muster roll of the Wilmington County militia in Captain Merrick's company.

Most of the 2,000 Jews in the colonies backed the independence movement, and names of Jewish merchants appear on the Non-Importation resolutions. The volunteers for Washington's army from North Carolina include the names of Aaron Cohen of Albemarle, J. Nathan of Charlotte, and Sigmund Freudenthal of New Hanover. (15) However, only the records of the 10th regiment of the North Carolina line are complete and they include William Solomon in Sharpe's Company, Abraham Moses and Lazarus Solomon in Rhodes' Company, Isaac Sampson in Brevard's Company, and Moses Stern on the roll of the North Carolina Battalion. (16) Aaron Cohen's daughter, Elizabeth, is buried in the Hebrew Cemetery of Charlotte, which secured its charter in 1859. (17).

The name of Francis Salvador, the most famous Jew of South Carolina, also appears in North Carolina history. Salvador came to Charleston from England in 1736. (18) He bought lands in South Carolina and lodged with a Jewish friend, Richard A. Rapely of Coroneka, commonly called Corn-acre. Salvador was reared in luxury, but placed his entire fortune at the disposal of his adopted land. He had only been in the colony a year when he was elected to the South Carolina General Assembly, **probably the first Jew in history to be elected to public office by a Christian community.** (Interesting note:—In 1954 Hon. Solomon Blatt, a Jew of Barnwell, was re-elected for the ninth term as the Speaker of the same General Assembly). In a rare work entitled **"Narrative of Colonel David Fanning, a Tory in the Revolutionary War, giving an Account of his Adventures in North Carolina from 1775 to 1783"**, occurs the following under date of July, 1775:

"We called musters in various counties, and captains presented two papers for the inhabitants to sign, one to see who were friends of the King and Government, and the other to see who would join the rebellion."

Fanning relates how he presented the two papers, and that 118 signed in favor of the King. His narrative continues:

There were several advertisements set up in every part of said district that there was a very great Presbyterian minister to call at the different places to preach and baptize children But at the time appointed, instead of meeting a minister, we all went to meet two Jews by name of Silvedoor and Rapely, and after making many speeches in favor of the rebellion and used all their endeavors to delude the people away, at last presented rebellion papers to see who would sign them. They were severely reprimanded by Henry O'Neil and many others. It came so high that they had much adue to get off with their lives. The rebels then found that we were fully determined to oppose them."

At about this time the British were encouraging the Cherokee Indians to attack the colonists, and in one massacre that came close to him Francis Salvador had to mount his horse and gallop 28 miles away and give the alarm to his friend, Major Williamson, whose regiment he joined. Salvador was an enthusiast for Independence, but the Declaration in Philadelphia on July 4 took several weeks to reach South Carolina and the chances are that Salvador never knew it before he was overtaken by death August 1, 1776. His tragic death is mentioned in the correspondence of nearly every prominent man of that day in South Carolina. It was near Essenska, when the patriots mounted a night attack that Francis Salvador was caught in a volley by the Tories and Indians. His body fell among the bushes, where he was discovered by the Indians and scalped on the spot.

The greater commercial importance of South Carolina drew more Jews there and was due to its superiority in ports in a day of sea transport. The earliest Jewish communities in the Carolinas flourished in Charleston and Georgetown, S. C., whereas only a smaller one grew up, and later, in the port city of Wilmington, N. C., always hampered as a seaport by a stormy approach at Cape Fear.

Charleston provides some of the brightest pages of American Jewry, and at one time—in 1800—had the greatest Jewish population of any American city. Its first synagogue, **Beth Elohim**, was established in 1750, with the congregation's first president, Joseph Tobias. (19) His descendant, Thomas J. Tobias, filled the same office in 1950 for the community's Bicentennial. The continuity and sweep of American history is told in the story of Charleston's Jews. The first of them came

along with Governor Yeamans from Barbadoes, from one slave-built economy to another. Jews owned slaves in Barbadoes, even engaged in the slave trade—some of them. Other Jews came in as peddlers and small shopkeepers. It was called Charles Town then. It was to remain Charles Town until 1783 when South Carolina became one of the thirteen American States with its chief seaport at Charleston.

Charles Town Jews came, most of them, from England or the English West Indies. As English-speaking settlers, then, they got along splendidly with their non-Jewish neighbors in a new land, free of the tradition of European anti-Semitism.

A few Jews, notably Simon Valentine and Mordecai Nathan, bought farms and many more—alienated as a people from the land for centuries—envied them. Jews were prominent in the colony's fast-developing trade, at first with Charles Town's chief export, deerskins, brought from up to a thousand miles inland.

The first staple crop was rice, grown in the lowlands by slave labor, with indigo later taking second place. Jewish traders had much to do with both exports and by 1720 Charleston began to rank with the northern ports of British America.

Seven of the eight Jews who laid the cornerstone of **Beth Elohim's** new synagogue in 1792 were German Jews. Of the four Jews who took part in the first Supreme Council of Scottish-Rite Masonry in 1801, two were Germans, one was born in Poland, and the other in Bohemia. (20) The richest Jew in South Carolina about 1825 was of Polish birth, the philanthropist Mordecai Cohen, whose grandson was killed at Bentonville, N. C., in the last battle of the Confederacy.

Charleston's **Beth Elohim** synagogue, built in 1750, is the foundation stone of Jewish tradition in the Carolinas. Moses Cohen, who arrived a few years earlier from London, was its first haham, the title of the local rabbi among Spanish-Portuguese Jews. Moses Cohen died in Charles Town in 1762 and is known to have brought with him from England at least one son, Abraham Cohen, who died at Georgetown, S. C., in 1800. In 1764 **Beth Elohim** bought its own cemetery on Coming Street, and it is the oldest Jewish cemetery in the Carolinas.

A leading Charleston Jew in the years before the American Revolution was Moses Lindo, who had come from London in 1756. (21) In 1762 he was appointed Surveyor and Inspector-General for the Province in matters of Indigo, Drugs and Dyes. The petition to appoint him inspector was signed by many prominent non-Jews and read: "**Because of the services rendered to this province by Mr. Moses Lindo and as a testimonial of his abilities he be made public inspector**", because "**he is the only**

person known to us capable of rendering the province public service in that article."

Moses Lindo resigned after ten years as Inspector-General, explaining he could not disgrace himself by accepting and certifying inferior indigo. He died in 1774.

Now in its dealings with the British Crown, South Carolina, unlike North Carolina, was a favored colony. In North Carolina Governor Tryon had to hang the Regulators at Hillsboro, and the Tar Heels were in general troublemakers. But South Carolina was the fair-haired boy of the King's American colonies.

In most of the other revolting Colonies the Jews contributed to the patriot cause as financiers, but in South Carolina they were on the battlefield. We would have more of their names but for the destruction of the War Office records in Washington when the British devastated the city in 1812.

Most of the men in the company commanded by Richard Lushington during the American Revolution were Jews—some 26 or 28 of them. (22) This unit later fought well under General Moultrie during the Battle of Beaufort. We know some of the names of the Jews in that company: Jacob I. Cohen, Isaac Solomon, Abram Seixas, Solomon Aarons, Aaron Henry,———Solomon, Ephraim Abrams, Attival Moses, Moses Cohen, Bernard Moses, Samuel Simons, Ezekiel Levy, Zadok Solomon,———Moses, and Nathan Phillips.

One of the first to be killed during the hostilities in Charleston was the child of Meyer Moses, whose house also was burnt. The father was a heavy financial contributor to the South Carolina and Charleston patriots.

Manuel Mordecai Noah and Isaac N. Cardozo, both eminent in the American Jewish story, were patriot soldiers of Charleston. A trusted aide of "Lighthouse Harry" Lee during the War was Abraham Seixas, who often carried military communications between Charleston and Georgia, an exceedingly dangerous business.

Major Benjamin Nones fought through the entire war in the Charleston militia, and in Pulaski's Legion. He fought in almost every action in the Carolinas and in the disastrous siege of Savannah. After the war he became President of the Philadelphia Congregation. American prisoners aboard the British prison ship "Torbay" in Charleston harbor, allowed to send a letter of protest to General Greene, numbered five Jews among them: Samuel Ash, Jacob Cohen, Jacob Henry, Daniel Jacobs, and Philip Meyer. (23)

With the fall of Charleston some Jews fled to American-

held Philadelphia, including Isaac Da Costa, who had been minister of the Charleston congregation, and his son. Later they were joined by Benjamin Nones, Isaac Cardozo, and Abraham Seixas, all founders of the Philadelphia congregation.

In 1835 Revolutionary soldiers on the pension rolls of South Carolina show David Sarzedas, Lt. Marks Lazarus, Sgt. David N. Cardozo, Sgt. S. Cardozo. Two widows of Revolutionary soldiers appear as late as 1841, Mrs. Judith Abrahams, age 75, married 1779; Mrs. Gershom Cohen of New York; and Rebecca Cohen. Revolutionary pensions for North Carolina Jews were granted Isaac Solomon, Abraham Moses and Raymond Solomons, all prisoners aboard the notorious "Torbay". Also, a letter from Governor Caswell in 1778 to the Clothier General of Continental Troops at Lancaster, Pa., mentions sending Isaac Aaron with leather.

By 1783, when the State Legislature of South Carolina incorporated Charles Town as Charleston and the war was over, Jews in the Carolinas had given ample evidence of their oneness with their non-Jewish neighbors. Of a population of no more than 2,000 Jews in the thirteen states in 1783, about half of them lived in South Carolina and Georgia.

THE LADIES AND THE "HEBREW BENEVOLENT SOCIETY"

In other communities in the South, the purchase of a cemetery came even before the organization of a congregation. I am talking now of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The pattern went something like this: If there were five or six Jewish families in a town the first evidence of Jewish "communal" life was the formation of a "Hebrew Benevolent Society", usually organized by the Jewish women of the community. The next step was a cemetery. The "Hebrew Benevolent Society" maintained communication with other communities, not only for social purposes, but also to discuss the various solicitations by Jewish charitable organizations, and to arrange for the purchase and maintenance of a cemetery. The burial ground was selected in the town with the largest Jewish population in the area, but was supported and used by the smaller surrounding communities. There were "Hebrew Benevolent Societies" in Charlotte, N. C., Raleigh, N. C., Asheville, N. C., Wilmington, N. C., Durham, N. C., Camden, S. C., and Columbia (24) before there were congregations. As early as 1875 the "Hebrew Benevolent Society" of Charlotte ran a "Purim Ball" and raised "one hundred dollars to be sent to Rabbi Tiltzer (not otherwise identified) for the Old Age Home." The ladies raised another "one hundred dollars" at a "Leap Year Hop" held in Charlotte on January 1, 1880. (25) There were fourteen family names listed in the newspaper account of the 1875 affair and thirty-nine names in 1880. Four of the 1875 names were still in Charlott in 1880—"Baumgartner", "Blum", "Schiff" and "Frankenthal". In both instances, Jewish men and women came to these affairs from a fifty-mile radius, "Miss Addie Heyman from Chester, S. C., M. Henry Berwanger from Salisbury, N. C., and Miss Cassie and her mother, Mrs. Wolfe, from Guilford County, N. C." Later on the men took over the structure of this "ladies" social group for the purpose of organizing their cemetery society, and finally, if the population grew in sufficient numbers, the congregation and the building of a synagogue.

REFLECTING THE CULTURE OF THE SURROUNDINGS

At the beginning of the nineteenth century we begin to find records of political and commercial activities involving Jews of the Carolinas. Jacob Mordecai established the first private school for girls in the South, at Warrenton, N. C., in 1809. (26) The school boarded an average of eighty girls a year and each pupil was sent to the church of parental choice. The textbooks used were—"Brooks' Gazetteer", "Guthrie's Grammar of Geography", "Tooke's Pantheon", and Blair's Rhetoric". In addition, music, embroidery and sewing were taught. One of Mordecai's sons, George Washington Mordecai, also played an important role in the economic and cultural development of the State. He was the first president of the state owned Bank of North Carolina, and built the Raleigh and Gaston Railroad, which ran from the State Capital to the Roanoke River. The family was assimilated into Christianity toward the end of the nineteenth century; its most distinguished member of this generation was the late Samuel Fox Mordecai, for many years Dean of the Trinity College (later Duke University) Law School. Reared in the Christian religion from birth, he had once been mentioned for the position of President of Trinity College. Dean Mordecai wrote a humorous sonnet;—"Trinity's Jewish President". (27)

"With trite constructive platitude,
I now express my gratitude
To each and every person who
heard my "naug'ral through:
And I'm sure that my election
Shows great powers of selection
in those who chose for President
Mr. Mordecai, the Jew."

When we speak of the remarkable Samuel Fox Mordecai, the time has come for us to examine this whole picture with relation to the "assimilation" into Christianity. I am trying to "list" only those names which I feel are necessary to establish the continuity of Jewish life in the Carolinas. The Jew was in the Carolinas from the beginning. From before the "beginning". Only the English and the Dutch preceded him to America. To the United States. Cotton Mather, Roger Williams, William Penn, Thomas Thorowgood, James Adair and many others even believed in the fairy tale that the American Indians were the ten lost tribes of Israel. Abram Mordecai believed it, too. Abram settled in Alabama in the year 1775, and founded the city of Montgomery. He lived among the Creek Indians for fifty years and was so satisfied that the Indians were descended

from the lost tribes of Israel that he married a squaw.

There were Jewish settlements, synagogues, Jewish cemeteries, and deeds for American property signed by Jews before the Scotch, Irish, Germans, Italians, Greeks, Slavs, Balts, Africans and Asiatics came to our shores. Of course, technically, the Spanish, Portuguese, and Italians really opened up the New World. The first white man to set foot on what is now North Carolina was a Florentine, Giovanni da Verrazzano. But here we encounter the difference between "exploration and settlement". The English "settled" the land first; particularly this section of America. Rarely mentioned is the fact that many immigrants RETURNED to their native lands after a few years' sojourn in America. World War I stopped that. Then came unemployment, poverty, and inflation in Europe after the war and by that time the children of the immigrants had sunk deep roots in America and there was no further thought of returning. The Jews did not "return", nor did they have any idea of "returning". ever. (28)

There was nothing "temporary" about their life in America. When they got off the boat in America, this was It. An Italian immigrant worked hard night and day. In America he was a ditch-digger or day-laborer. When he returned home with the three thousand dollars and the status of having lived in Chicago, he became the Mayor of his town. He was driven out of Italy by poverty, but it always remained Home; the nostalgia, the sunshine, the music and the olive groves; all of this was good. But for the Jew this was home. The Jew was not driven out of Europe by poverty, per se. He was driven out because of bigotry, and second-class citizenship. The same reasons that brought the original Gentile settlers to our shores. In 1915 during a Senatorial discussion of one of the early attempts to restrict immigration, these facts were brought to the attention of President Wilson. A survey had been made showing the number of immigrants who returned to Europe. The survey also listed the totals of withdrawals from the savings banks. The immigrants took home quite a few American dollars. President Wilson was not impressed. "These people left us the tunnels and the subways they built, didn't they?"

"WHERE ARE THE JEWS OF YESTERYEAR?"

The Jews of the Carolinas followed the pattern of the three major waves of immigration to the United States. First the Spanish-Portuguese, then the German Jews, and finally after 1880 the Jews from Eastern Europe, who brought the pattern of communal life which included an emphasis on learning, self-help, social justice, and keen responsibility for the Jew overseas. In such cities as Charleston, S. C., Sumter, S. C., and Savannah, Ga., one may still find on the synagogue rolls a Mendoza, a Laporte, a Moise, and a Kiralfy, but in the main the descendants of the Sephardic Jews who came to Savannah in 1730 and built the synagogue in Charleston in 1750 have all but disappeared. What is even more to the point is that the greater portion of the German Jews who came into the South in the middle of the 19th century have also disappeared. Today, even in the largest communities, it is hard to find more than one or two second generation Southern Jews. At the present time in 1955, no less than ninety per cent of the Jewish people in the Carolinas and the South are first and second generation citizens of Eastern European origin.

Two major factors were involved in this development. First of course was the Jewish migration from the South to other parts of the country. It was hard to make a living in the South after the Civil War. And Jews were not the only ones who migrated. There had been a steady decline of Charleston trade. The Carolinas and the South in general failed to grow as rapidly as other places. Many of the grandsons of the Sephardic Jews and many of the sons of the German Jews were among those who left the section, along with their non-Jewish neighbors, all looking for better opportunities elsewhere. For nearly seventy-five years there was a steady flow of raw materials and brains from the South, northward. It's all the other way now, but that's another story. A big story.

The second factor in the "disappearance" of the first two "waves" of Jewish immigration to the South was by assimilation into Christianity. The period of this greatest assimilation coincides with the flourishing in Germany of the Jewish Enlightenment Movement, which secularized many Jews, led them to accept non-ghetto values, and resulted in a general hunger for careers and social acceptance. In Western Europe there occurred an epidemic of Jewish apostasy. In Berlin alone it is estimated that at least half of its Jewish community was baptized during the first decades of the 19th century.

Oddly enough, formal conversions to Christianity in the South were few and far between, even during the first half

of the 19th century when Jewish communal life was almost non-existent.

In the majority of the cases the family drifted into Christianity through the process of "elimination". The Jew married a Christian; the children were raised as Christians; and they in turn married others of their faith. Through all of this the head of the family continued to maintain at least a perfunctory connection with Judaism and the Temple; but upon his death the link was irrevocably broken. Even in our own day, this process is approaching the inevitable climax in many of our most outstanding families in the South. When the head of each of these families passes on, all ties with Judaism and the Jewish community will have come to an end.

This "slow" Christianization has its own folklore. Every community in the South has at least one leading Protestant layman of whom it is whispered, "he was once a Jew." Even the names have persisted. You'll find Christians in the South with such names as Herschberger, Mordecai, Salomon, Goodman, Hayman, Hertzinger, Rosenblatt, with particular emphasis on Baumgardner, Jacobs, and Isaacs. These are the same names you see on the early 19th century gravestones in the Hebrew cemeteries of Richmond, Charlotte, Charleston and Savannah. Some humorous situations have arisen. In one Southern town the name of the president of the Hebrew congregation (an immigrant from Poland) was Smith; and the name of the local Lutheran pastor was Kohn.

What has obscured the extent of this assimilation into Christianity has been the lack of authentic data. There are no records, of course. The numbers involved are not large, but the percentage is undoubtedly the highest in the country. In addition to the "evidence" gathered from the old synagogue membership rolls and the tombstones in the Jewish cemeteries, new "sources" of information on these conversions are now available. I have found that there is a growing disposition among Christians to speak of their Jewish ancestry with increasing pride. This is particularly true of those families who have acquired the highest status within the Christian community. A Samuel Fox Mordecai, a Christian from birth, could sign his name in Hebrew and refer to himself as "a Jew"; the elderly mother of a prominent Christian layman could discuss with me her Jewish grandfather with deep affection; but others, of course, less sure of their status, avoid even the most casual contact with the Jewish community. There is a curious ambivalence in the attitude of the Jews toward these converts. Generally it follows the attitude of the Christian community itself. Those converts who still appear to be "insecure" in their status; of whom it is still whispered, "They were once Jews", are not looked upon

(by the Jews) in a favorable light, to put it mildly. But those (converts) who have achieved a high position in the general community, (particularly in education, science, and philanthropy) are looked upon with pride; often the Jewish community claims them as their "own".

While "mixed-marriage" continues at the approximate ratio of one out of every eight marriages involving a Jewish male, we find a surprising development in recent years. Quite a few of the Gentile brides involved are entering the Jewish faith. In these cases the non-Jewish wife enters upon her duties in maintaining "a Jewish home" with considerable enthusiasm. In one town a convert wife asked her husband why he insists upon maintaining a "kosher home" and why he objects to her having a Christmas tree "when your own two sisters don't keep kosher, and also have their Christmas tree every year." Indeed, hers was the only "kosher home" in town. When the Christian wife does not enter into the Jewish faith (and the majority of course do not), they each maintain their separate religious affiliations. Many practicing Christian wives attend Friday night and High Holiday services with their husbands. Some of them teach in the Sunday Schools of their own churches. In the recent organization of a new Temple in North Carolina, four of the eight charter members had Christian wives.

Few mixed-marriages involve a Jewish female. In the early days, the European immigrant who came into the Carolinas and the South was unmarried, usually a teen-age boy. He did not come into contact with Jewish girls. In the first place there weren't many. Second, the Jewish families that were already established here were well integrated into the upper middle-class, at least at the economic level, and occasionally at the social level, too. This family, usually of German origin, was not going to turn their daughter over to an immigrant from Russia, or Poland. The daughter would have been spoken for by one of the other Jewish families of equal status, or was living with relatives in Baltimore, Philadelphia, or New York. There has been very little change in this pattern. The Jewish girls have less opportunity for "outside" contacts than the boys who are out selling or managing as soon as they leave high school or college. Since the Jews represent a single proprietary class, the girls are under no pressure to start a career or earn wages. In fact, the girl's "freedom" from economic worries is part of the growing "status" of the family. Thus most of the Jews in the small communities send their daughters off to live with relatives in Atlanta, Baltimore, and New York, to give her a chance of meeting Jewish boys. Sometimes a stroke of genius can reverse the process. One big merchant in a Southern town with six marriageable daughters notified all his suppliers in the North that if they wanted to continue to sell him merchandise

they must send salesmen with two qualifications: (a) he must be a Jew, and (b) he must be single. All six girls, their husbands and their children are today leading happy and prosperous lives in their respective communities.

I have made a ten-year survey, 1945-1955, of Charlotte, N. C., which is representative of the "Mixed-marriage" situation in the South. I made a total of each category and divided by ten to get the average "per year," as follows: — Average Jewish population in families, 325; Jewish males married to Gentiles, 34; Jewish females married to Gentiles, 4; Jewish males converted to Christianity, 5; Jewish females converted to Christianity, 4; Gentile wives converted to Judaism, 7. (29)

The Jews no longer sit *shiveh* (seven days of intensive mourning after the death of a parent or child), when a son or a close relative marries a Gentile. This form of "rejection" has obscured, through all these years, the less dramatic, but equally drastic attitude of the Gentiles toward a mixed-marriage.

While the union is accepted all around, you could not call it "enthusiastic". Rarely, if ever, does a Jew-Gentile marriage start with "the big wedding" which has long occupied an important position in the Jewish culture, and you still wouldn't take the chance and say "*Mazltov*" (good luck) to the parents.

In nearly all such marriages the Jew must bring something more to the union than just himself. This may not be a "condition" of the relationship necessarily. The couple themselves, however, anticipate complications of some kind and feel that economic security is necessary from the very beginning. In nearly all such instances the Gentile wife enters a higher economic level than she had known before marriage. I'll discuss the reasons for the basic Jew-Gentile social segregation later, but for the moment I would like to say that in these mixed marriages the Jew will marry the Gentile girl he meets in business or who works in his father's store, but he will never marry the daughter of his father's economic "opposite number." On the other hand the Gentile wife makes a great sacrifice. She enters upon a higher standard of living, but surrenders her majority status (whether she converts to Judaism or not). While often her immediate family accepts the marriage, she nevertheless loses the social contacts and early friendships within her own religio-social group. In addition she will also encounter a high degree of prejudice within the Jewish group. The normal reaction among the Jewish women of course is determined by the age-old question:— "He couldn't find a Jewish girl to marry?" The Gentile wife often is a very lonesome woman, and occasionally finds it necessary to develop new fraternal and social activities on the same basis as the "outside" Jew and the "outside" Gentile, whom I'll discuss in a later chapter.

THE NORTH HAD BETTER PRESS AGENTS

Burke Davis, novelist, (Yorktown) and biographer (*They Called Him Stonewall*) once explained to me (to my entire satisfaction) how Lord Cornwallis had been cut to ribbons in the South; at Cowpens, at Kings Mountain, on the road between Davidson and Charlotte, and finally at Guilford Court House, near Greensboro. By the time his Lordship arrived at Yorktown he was more than happy to hand his sword over to the first kind man he met. Burke said he was not trying to rewrite history. It was just that the North—the “whites of their eyes” boys—had better press agents than the Southern boys with the squirrel guns.

I think this is a pattern that runs all through our history. I doubt whether there are 5,000 Jews out of the five million in America who have ever heard of Penina Moise who was born in Charleston in 1797. The whole American race can well be proud of her.

Her father died when she was 12, so she had to make lace and embroider for a living. She still managed to study and write, including verse for the *Charleston Courier* week after week. Later she wrote for the Northern papers and magazines. Her hymns for *Beth Elohim*, under the Reform Service, are still in use. There are more of them in the hymnal of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations than those of any other Jewish writer, ancient or modern. (30)

After the Civil War she became blind and opened a girls' school on Coming Street with her sister Rachel and Rachel's daughter Jacqueline Levy. She never married and all her life remained opposed to intermarriage. She died in 1880 at 83 years of age, saying: “Lay no flowers on my grave. They are for those who live in the sun, and I have always lived in the shadow.”

Penina Moise is the classic example of the Jew's place in history; the capacity to thoroughly absorb the culture in which he lives, while rigidly maintaining his own cultural patterns and identity. Zebulon Vance referred to the Jews as “the lonely river in the midst of the ocean of mankind,” (that like the Gulf Stream) “refuses to overflow . . . nor dry up.” Even in the purple oratory of his day, Vance, a learned man, seems to have had a remarkable understanding of all of this (31). Penina Moise, writing her hymns for the synagogue, was at the same time the blood of the blood and the bone of the bone of the South.

Alexander the Great had a much clearer sense of history than the Romans. Probably because his teacher had been Aristotle. But Alexander the Great, who legend says sat down and wept because there were no more worlds to Conquer, never con-

quered Jerusalem, which was right at his back door. Josephus (*Antiquities*, book 11, chapter 8) says that after Alexander's conquest of Tyre and his campaign at Gaza (333 B. C.) he made a visit of state to Jerusalem. The high priest, resplendent in his robes of gold and purple, and the priests in their attire of fine linen, went out to meet him. To the astonishment of his captains, Alexander revered the mitre of the high priest on which was engraved the **Name of God**. He then entered the city and offered sacrifices in the Temple. We are sure, however, of this much. Alexander did grant many special privileges to the Jews, as, for instance, exempting them from taxes during their religious sabbatical year. His interest suggests that he was quick to see the value of the Jews in the cultural, political, and intellectual sphere of his world empire; that the Jews were the natural agents to carry out his aim of a synthesis of Occidental and Oriental cultures into the mould of Hellenism. How very close this actually came to fulfillment is both a remarkable fact of history and a tribute to Alexander's wisdom (32)

While it has nothing to do with Penina Moise, I'd like to include here a letter from one of the descendants of the original family—Mr. Harold Moise, a leading citizen of Sumter, S. C.:

"Dear Mr. Golden:—Abram DeLeon lived in Camden and was Worshipful Master of Kershaw Lodge No. 29 of ancient Pre-Masons at the time that Lafayette visited this country and in turn visited Camden. General Lafayette visited Camden in 1824 and laid the cornerstone of the memorial erected to his bosom friend, John Baron DeKalb, who was mortally wounded in the battle of Camden on August 16, 1780.

"On the DeKalb monument appears General Lafayette's name as Grand Master and oposite it, Brother Abram DeLeon, Worshipful Master.

"General Lafayette presented Abram DeLeon with the Grand Master's Jewel of the Grand Lodge of France and this Jewel was in turn given to his son, Harmon H. DeLeon of Charleston. Mr. DeLeon of Charleston (my grandfather) presented it to his Mother Lodge Friendship No. 9 where the Jewel now resides."

Jacob Nunez Cardozo, a long-time Charlestonian, was the son of David who had led the "Forlorn Hope" trying to retake Savannah from the British during the American Revolution. Jacob Nunez called himself "Newton." He was self-taught and in 1816 became editor of the **Southern Patriot**, coming to own it in 1823. He was a student of economics, a fervent advocate of free trade in the tradition of David Ricardo. He opposed the Tariff of 1832 as a matter of course, but also opposed Nullification (33).

Jews took pride in being as patriotic Southerners as anybody else, as witness George Lyons, finding fault with the Georgians' lack of zeal for "state's rights." Said he, with a fine non-kosher flair: "**I go the whole hog and am a full-blooded State Rights Carolina Nullifier** (34). "Jews are like everybody else, only more so." From the Babylonian Captivity in 586 B. C. to the present day, Jews have reflected the extremes of each of the societies in which they have lived, plus all the cultural, political, and economic gradations between those extremes. In a plantation society Jews became duellists also, involving those from other regions when they overstepped the line.

This happened to the visiting Mordecai Manuel Noah, who came to Charleston when 26 to study law. Noah, famous in the history of American journalism for helping the elder George Gordon Bennett start the **New York Herald**, wrote for the **Charleston Times** under the pen-name "Muly Mulak." Something he said caused him to fight a non-fatal duel with a fellow Jew named Canter. Another duel. Charleston's Jacob F. Scherman noted in his diary for February 10, 1834: "Duel on the race course between Moise and Cohen, the latter was mortally wounded and died on 12th." Ah, if we only had the details (35).

In the Nullification Convention of 1832 the Jewish delegates divided evenly, Philip Phillips and Chapman Levy against Nullification and Philip Cohen and Myer Jacobs for it. Two of these men we know to be veterans of the War of 1812.

Capt. Chapman Levy, born 1787 in Camden, S. C., volunteered with a fine Rifle Company which he outfitted at his own expense. Capt. Myer Moses served in the South Carolina militia.

The most prominent Jewish soldier of the war was a Regular Army officer, Abraham A. Massias of New York, who appears as a member of Charleston's **Beth Elohim** at the same time. It was a bad time for American land armies, for they met an almost unbroken series of disasters. In fact, William Henry Harrison was elected President in 1840 on the strength of his having won a little skirmish 35 years earlier in the War of 1812. It was called Tippecanoe.

Capt. Massias drove back a British attempt to enter Georgia by way of Cumberland Island. Later, as a Major, he drove back a force of 1500 British at Point Petre on the St. Mary's River. Major Massias died in Charleston in 1848.

Levi Myers Harby, born in Georgetown, S. C., in 1793, was a Regular Navy midshipman in the War of 1812. He was captured and interned in Dartmoor Prison two years until his escape. He commanded a vessel in the expedition against Tripoli and served in the Seminole and Mexican Wars. He was a

Navy Captain, but resigned after 52 years service to go with the Confederacy. He was in command of the Confederate Fleet at Sabine Pass and distinguished himself in the defense of Galveston. (36).

In 1832 there was a letter signed by "Lighty-four Israelites" to the **Southern Patriot** and to the **Charleston Courier** making it plain that they were not desirous of being represented in the State Legislature as a religious sect. Apparently there had been some talk of such a move at the time.

The religious upheaval of Carolina Jews in ante-bellum days had its fount and head in Charleston. There, in 1824, a petition to the vestry of **Beth Elohim** by 47 members asked for changes in the Orthodox ritual. One result of all-round equality, apparently, was the desire to worship more like their non-Jewish neighbors. The reforms called for the use of more English and less Hebrew in the services, including a sermon in English. When the petitioners were turned down, about 12 of them organized "The Reformed Society of Israelites", with Isaac Harby one of their leaders. The Society met in Seyle's Masonic Hall on Meeting Street. David Nunes Carvalho was reader at no pay. At the first anniversary meeting, in 1825, Aron Phillips was elected president; Michael Lazarus vice-president; Morris Goldsmith, secretary; Isaac Mordecai, treasurer; and Abraham Moise, orator. The "corresponding committee" included Isaac Harby, Abraham Moise, Isaac N. Cardozo, David Nunes Carvalho, and E. P. Cohen. (37).

This historic pioneer effort at establishing the Reform Service in Jewish Worship was short in life but long in influence. In 1833 the affairs of the Society were wound up, sums donated for a proposed Temple returned to the donors with interest, and most members welcomed back to **Beth Elohim** after fairly easy penalties. The insurgents did succeed in reforming **Beth Elohim** itself, which, a few years thereafter, left Orthodoxy for good.

THE CIVIL WAR AND THE RESPONSIBILITY OF CITIZENSHIP

Bernard Berenson, philosopher and the premier art critic of the world, has lived in Florence, Italy, for over a half-century. As the Germans retreated up the Italian boot they were destroying lines of communication and facilities of transportation in an effort to impede the Allied advance. The eighty-year old Berenson, living in sanctuary, wrote to the Pope of Rome. He urged the Vatican to intercede with the Nazis to save the S. Trinita bridge in Florence; "the most elegant and artistic thing of its kind in Europe, and its destruction would indeed be a loss, more than a dozen Monte Cassinos." (38)

A Lithuanian-born Jew pleading with an Italian Pope to save a Florentine bridge!

Napoleon Bonaparte had liquidated the ghettos. In 1804 he repealed some of the anti-semitic laws which Theodosius had put into effect in the year 432.

As Napoleon pushed eastward in his campaign against Russia (1811-1812) he spread the word before him of his magnanimity toward the Jews. He believed that the oppressed Jews of Russia would come forward to join his armies or at least provide him with a "fifth column" behind the Czarist lines. None of this ever happened. The oppressed Jews of Russia stood with the Russian armies and defended Moscow. (39).

The Confederates wouldn't have bothered the two thousand or twenty-two hundred Jewish men and boys if they had requested to go back to their families and co-religionists in New York and Philadelphia. But they didn't go back. The American Civil War thus represents the most important milestone in the history of the Jews of the United States. Its significance is not in the individual participation (a minor detail) but in the demonstration of the responsibility of citizenship. The Jews were not long out of the ghettos of Europe where for sixteen hundred years they had lived as a homogeneous community under European law of group activity and group responsibility.

This homogeneity was intensified by the struggle to survive in surroundings of unrelieved hostility. Yet in general, Jews of the South supported the Confederacy, and Jews of the North followed the Union fortunes. Thus nearly 2,000 years of in-group living was shattered in a single moment by that same American idea that permits each citizen to determine his views in accordance with the dictates of his private conscience.

Paradoxically this American right to behave "separately" unloosed the first serious attack (in the United States) upon the

Jews, as a people. The radical abolitionists, using the secessionism of Judah P. Benjamin (Secretary of State of the Confederacy), attempted to create in America an awareness for the European concept of "group responsibility" as it concerned the Jews.

Of course in Gentile folklore "All the Jews stick together," which once prompted an observation from that noble mind, Bernard Berenson, "Oh, if we only possessed some of the qualities with which we are reproached." Winston Churchill, probably the most "aware" Anglo-Saxon of our century, has written, "One Jew is a Prime Minister, two Jews are a Prime Minister and a Leader of the Loyal Opposition." (40).

Thus while the Jewish stereotype is still with us to some degree — the identification of the individual with the group as a whole has never entered American practice or law. In the entire history of the United States there have been only two isolated instances of an "official" attempt to identify the actions of one or a few with the group as a people. The first was the Civil War "Order No. 11," issued by General Grant who, irked by the activities of some peddlers, "barred" the Jews "as a race" from certain war areas (41). The second such attempt was made in January, 1955, when the office of the Secretary of Agriculture attempted to identify a major segment of American Jewry (of Russian origin) with the alleged "un-American" beliefs of a single individual. In each case the American people rejected the idea quickly and decisively.

Notwithstanding the fact that Rabbi David Einhorn had fled Baltimore before a pro-slavery lynch mob, most of the important Abolitionist editors, clergymen, and politicians attempted to equate the Jews' refusal to endorse en bloc the Abolitionist cause with treason against the Republic. Rabbi Isaac Mayer Wise, founder of American Reform Judaism, himself an ardent Abolitionist, answered the critics of the Southern Jews: "... the Jew is as little responsible for the politics of other Jews as the Catholic, Protestant, Deist or Atheist is for the politics of his co-religionists . . . If the largest portion of the Jewish population of Richmond, Charleston, and New Orleans give aid and comfort to rebellion, as our opponents maintain, they do exactly as others do in the same localities . . . You Abolitionists with the grandiloquent and bombastic declamations of philanthropy, freedom, and attachment to the Government, why do you not go down South and expound your doctrines to the Community; and if you dare not do it, why do you expect the Jews there to stand in opposition to the mass of the people?" (42)

Interestingly enough, Judah P. Benjamin, Secretary of War and then Secretary of State in the cabinet of Jefferson Davis,

who raised the ire of the Abolitionists against Jews as a people, was used for the same purpose in the South. During Benjamin's hassle with General "Stonewall" Jackson over the loss of Roanoke Island, demands were made upon the President of the Confederacy to remove "Mr. Israelite." A Rev. Willicomb of Virginia demanded the removal of Benjamin as a member of the "tribe which killed Jesus." The irony in this situation on both sides of the Mason-Dixon line is that Mr. Benjamin, born a Jew, was never known to have practiced the religion or to have spoken "as a Jew" at any time in his entire public career. He was buried in Paris with the rites of the Roman Catholic Church (43).

From North Carolina came the six Cohen brothers of the 40th Infantry, and the first Jew to fall for the Confederacy was Albert Lurie Moses of Charlotte, who died at the Battle of Seven Pines. He had seized an eight-inch shell with the fuse burning, fell into a gun pit and saved many lives. The shell has since been engraved and stands over his grave near Columbus, Ga.

When the war broke out Major Alfred Mordecai, an instructor in Ordnance at West Point, was in charge of the Watervleit (N. Y.) Arsenal, the largest in the country. He resigned his commission stating that he was unwilling "to forge arms to be used against my aged mother, brothers and sisters" (in North Carolina) (44).

In the Woodlawn Cemetery at Elmira, New York, site of a Federal camp for Confederate prisoners of war, the North Carolina Jews who are buried there include: "Levi Southan, Ca. A, 28th N. C. Inf.; Edward Harris, Co. G, 26th; I. M. Pinner, Co. E, 2nd; Jesse Simons, Co. G, 20th; Daniel Jones, Co. D, 1st; Nathan Altman, Co. G, 40th; Henry Daniel, Co. F, 10th; J. Israel, Co. E, 51st; Moses Simmons, Co. G, 20th; David Lewis, Co. C, 22nd. From Charlotte also came J. Roessler, one of the founders of the Charlotte congregation, who was captain in the 40th Infantry, and Lewis Leon, a prominent Charlotte citizen after the war, who had originally enlisted in South Carolina. Pvt. Leon, marksman in the 53rd North Carolina Infantry, kept a diary. (Mr. John R. Peacock of High Point, N. C., who owns it, graciously sent a photostatic copy to the American Jewish Historical Society in 1952). It is interesting to note that a young Jewish immigrant from Poland would record: "September 19, 1862 — This morning they read an order from our father, R. E. Lee, in which he gave furlough to all Israelites in honor of Jewish New Year. Worthheim, Oppenheim, Norment and myself, as well as Lieut. E. Cohen, worshiped."

Dr. Simon Baruch, father of Bernard M. Baruch, served the Confederacy as a surgeon on the battlefield. Dr. Baruch, having

come to Camden, S. C. at the age of 15 to live with a distant merchant relative there, went to the South Carolina Medical College in Charleston and, later, Medical College of Virginia in Richmond. He was 22 when he received his M. D. in 1862, and immediately went to the front. After being taken prisoner at Gettysburg he was interned at Fort McHenry in Baltimore. There, in prison, he wrote "Bayonet Wounds of the Chest," a work still considered useful by surgeons. He was exchanged in time to join the undermanned army trying to stop Sherman's march to the sea. He organized a temporary hospital in Thomasville and there performed operations day and night until he collapsed (45).

THIS IS THE HEART OF THE STORY

The Jews who came to North and South Carolina in the second half of the 19th century, like those in all other sections of the eastern seaboard, found that the streets were neither paved with gold, nor that dollars grew on trees. They turned to the one profession open to them. They became peddlers. The Cherokees identified them as "egg eaters." They were the peddlers who probably adhered to the dietary laws of Moses and avoided meat of any kind until they returned to their "base of operations" on Friday evening in time to observe the Sabbath.

For Virginia and the Carolinas, the main source of merchandise supply was at Baltimore, Maryland, but within each state the peddlers had "way stations" where they stored small stocks and which they called "home for Sabbath." In North Carolina these "stations" were at Wilmington, Albemarle, and Yanceyville. Often the peddlers during the last two decades of the 19th century made one these "way station-warehouses"—a permanent home. In the August 2, 1860 issue of the "**Hebrew Leader**" (N. Y.), the following advertisement: "**Wanted by Israelites of Wilmington, North Carolina, Hazan, Schocket, Mohel.** (An individual who could combine the professions of cantor, ritual butcher and circumciser). **Communicate M. Hirschberger, Wilmington, N. C.**" (46).

The peddler was a walking "department store." When he first came through North Carolina and the other states of our country, he sometimes carried as much as 125 pounds on his back, and his goods included not only the minor accessories such as suspenders, socks, handkerchiefs and needles, but also the finer linens, curtains, taffetas for the farm wife's Sunday dress, ribbons for the youngsters, and many gewgaws which helped brighten the monotony of isolated living.

The peddler's coming was a gala event in the lives of the North Carolina farmers and pioneers. They all came out of the fields, and while the women folk and children began to examine the wares, the farmer himself would probably be asking the peddler about news from the adjoining county, or from the state capital; perhaps even a word about Bismarck or Queen Victoria. The Tar Heel novelist, Bernice Kelly Harris, who has given us the most vivid picture of rural life in Eastern North Carolina, writes that the coming of the peddler was an event in the rural day of not many events. "**When he was seen turning the corner at Old Uncle Nat's, we children rushed from the mulberry orchard houseward to persuade Mother to let the peddler open his packs, just to let him open his packs, even if nothing was to be bought . . . Mother bought needles and pins to pay the peddler for his trouble in opening the packs . . .**"(47).

At first the peddler was referred to as a "Dutchman." A death notice in *The Landmark* (Statesville, N. C.) October 11, 1884, refers to the transportation of "the remains of A. Blum, a **Dutch peddler**" from Wilmington to Baltimore. Both Josephus Daniels in his "Tar Heel Editor" and Mrs. Harris in her book of plays, speak of the "Dutch" peddler. It is interesting to note that Prof. Oscar Handlin, "**Adventure in Freedom**" (McGraw-Hill, N. Y., 1954) states that in early New England, too, the Jewish peddler was "looked upon as just another kind of a German." The term "Jew-peddler" began to appear in the public prints in the early part of this century, and later developed into the term "Jew-store" which is still widely used among the rural white and Negro populations. It is not intended as an insult; the customers, upon entering the establishment, often ask, "Is this a Jew-store?" The interest in the designation was probably heightened by a legend that a Jewish merchant would make every possible concession or sacrifice to record a "first" sale of the day, and that he would accept any "offer" rather than lose his first customer. The farmers would vie with one another to be the first one in the store to get the "bargain". Eventually the peddler became the merchant and many of them acquired great wealth and distinction such as Joseph Fels, founder of the Fels Naptha Company, who started as a peddler and whose father before him had peddled out of Yanceyville, N. C. Many another peddler's son rose to eminence as a "merchant prince," and within a half-century the peddler had indeed raised the entire business of buying and selling into the realm of the nobler arts — a profession comparable in dignity with that of the jurist and physician.

A letter from Mr. Jake Harris of High Point, N. C. (October 9, 1954):

"Dear Mr. Golden:

My father, Lewis Harris, arrived in Manchester, the old part of Richmond, Virginia, about 1886 or 1887, and he and my uncle Henry peddled around Virginia and North Carolina. They finally landed in High Point during the Cleveland Administration. According to a newspaper I have, they were in full bloom with a store of their own. Uncle Henry and papa kept kosher. They had the meat killed in Greensboro and other things sent down to them from Richmond. They bought land here in 1894. In 1896 the city burned down and they moved their stock out into the street and did business. I was born in 1903 and I am now the oldest living Jewish person in High Point. Then came the Silvers, Londons, and the Rabinowitz families. These folks had a full-fledged **minyán**, (quorum of ten males necessary for public religious ser-

vices). In 1905 Mr. Kress of Thomasville (N. C.) performed the service of ritual butcher. He now lives in High Point."

I picked Mr. Harris' letter because it was short and because all the other letters are the same. This is the heart of the story of the Jews of the South. In other cities and towns you will find that the oldest native-born Jew may have been born in 1902 instead of 1903, or maybe in 1899, and even they are very few. In 1906 in Charlotte (N. C.) the largest city of the two Carolinas, there were twelve Jewish families. Today there are four hundred and eighty-eight Jewish families. In terms of life today, Mr. Harris has told it to you all in a few words, These were the people in the past fifty years who built thirty-four synagogues and temples in the Carolinas, four Community Centers, three Hillel Houses at the Universities, donated millions of dollars to the United Jewish Appeal, supported all their other domestic charities, orphanages and homes for the aged—as well as living up to all their civic and philanthropic obligations within the general community (48). These are the people, the Jewish peddlers and merchants who came into the South during the past fifty years who have given money to the libraries, hospitals, churches, Sunday schools; helped finance civic works and the symphony orchestras, and who arrange for Ludwig Lewisohn, Jan Pearce, Eleanor Roosevelt and others to come South to make speeches and give recitals.

This is the whole story. It runs parallel, of course, with the "whole" story of the New South itself — the story of the South's recovery from the tragic era of Reconstruction.

COTTON MILLS AND PICASSOS

The development of factory industry in the South was the most significant development in this fifty-year period of recovery. The saga of Moses Henry Cone and his brother Caesar Cone of Greensboro is the story of the industrial development of North Carolina into the greatest textile producing area in the world. (49)

Herman Cone came to the United States from his native Altenstadt, Bavaria, in 1854, and opened a country store in Jonesboro, Tennessee. During the Civil War he added a small foundry in which he manufactured bullets for the Confederate Army. In 1870 with his two oldest boys, Moses H. and Monroe, he established a wholesale grocery, leather, and cigar business in Baltimore, Maryland. Later, another son, Caesar, joined the business. (Monroe died in 1891). Another son, Bernard, who is still active in the philanthropic affairs of the Cones, studied law, and in his youth was associated with the famous New York law firm, Guggenheim, Untermyer and Marshall. The Cone connection with North Carolina and the textile business came through their wholesale establishment in Baltimore. After one of the serious economic depressions many of the country stores in North Carolina were in debt to the Cones of Baltimore. When things began to pick up the merchants were still not able to discharge their debts, and were forced to make smaller purchases for cash, or seek credit elsewhere. Moses H. Cone wrote them all a letter. He said that he was sorry for their predicament, but urged them to buy what goods they needed, and not worry about the old accounts; they could pay when they were more secure in their recovery. Out of this came the friendships and the connections in North Carolina which led to the fabulous Cone enterprises. When the Cones entered the textile business, the southern mills had no credit with the New York banks, they were making only one product, and they offered their goods on a basis of chaotic competition among themselves. The Cones established the Cone Export and Commission Company which, with several other commission houses, became the bankers for the southern mills. Out of this came the introduction of a variety of cotton manufactures and an orderly system of world-wide distribution. Today the Cones operate some 600,000 spindles or about three per cent of the entire industry, and in the last decade they have "plowed" back more than \$50,000,000 for modernization and expansion of their operations. (50)

Other children of the immigrant Herman Cone achieved distinction in the arts and sciences. Dr. Claribel Cone graduated with honors as an M. D. from the Women's Medical College at Baltimore. In 1903 she was elected to the presidency of the institution. She lectured at Johns Hopkins and did research at the Pasteur Institute in Paris. Her sister, Miss Etta Cone, was a

pioneer feminist. Together with another brother, Frederick, the Cone sisters bought original Picassos and Matisse's before the first World War and left these paintings as well as other art treasures to their home town, Baltimore. They represent the finest collections of French art from Ingres to our time.

The philanthropies of the Cones of Greensboro have been extensive; in the interests of the general community as well as for Jewish charities, going back to World War No. 1, when the elder Caesar Cone was on the "**Relief Committee for Sufferers from the War.**" It is not possible to record any of the benefactions except the buildings and properties for public use, since the Cone family exercises strict control over any public announcement of this nature. An old-time editor of Greensboro told me that the most singular characteristic of the Cones is that "you hardly know they are here, from year to year." They have established recreation halls, clinics, and welfare organizations for their employees, and a Negro Y. M. C. A.

Mr. Moses H. Cone died in 1908. He left no children and his widow, Mrs. Bertha L. Cone, in May, 1911, caused to be incorporated under the laws of North Carolina a corporation known as The Moses H. Cone Memorial Hospital. To this corporation, she transferred the inheritance she had received from her husband, consisting of a substantial investment in the mills and industrial enterprises he had created in his lifetime and also a magnificent estate of some 3,500 acres situated at Blowing Rock, N. C. In the deed creating the gift of these properties, Mrs. Cone reserved the use of the Blowing Rock estate as a homeplace for herself during her lifetime and also the income from the personal property. There was also included in Mrs. Cone's gift a tract of land of some 67 acres in the City of Greensboro, to be used as a site for the building of a hospital after Mrs. Cone's death, and the deed of gift of the Blowing Rock property provided that the estate was to be perpetually maintained as a public park under the name of "The Moses H. Cone Memorial Park."

The "Moses H. Cone Memorial Park", deeded to the Government, is now operated for public use. In recent years the Department of the Interior has established a project of handicraft exhibits of the industries of the mountain people of North Carolina. The "Moses H. Cone Memorial Hospital" in Greensboro with 310 beds, has now been in operation for 3 years.

THERE IS ALWAYS ONE MAN

Zebulon B. Vance was Civil War Governor of North Carolina. Elected again in 1877, he served three elective terms in the United States Senate. He died in 1894, and his name was chosen to represent North Carolina in the National Hall of Statuary in Washington. His sermon "**The Scattered Nation**" raised the prestige of the Jewish people throughout the South. The address was read from hundreds of pulpits and reprinted in nearly every newspaper and journal published in the South:- (51)

"This curious phenomenon, the Gulf Stream in the physical world, has its counterpart in the moral. There is a lonely river in the midst of the ocean of mankind. The mightiest floods of human temptation have never caused it to overflow and the fiercest fires of human cruelty, though seven times heated in the furnace of religious bigotry have never caused it to dry up, although its waves for two thousand years have rolled crimson with the blood of its martyrs. Its fountain is in the grey dawn of the world's history, and its mouth is somewhere in the shadows of eternity. It too refuses to mingle with the surrounding waves, and the line which divides its restless billows from the common waters of humanity is also plainly visible to the eye. It is the Jewish race

"The Jew is beyond doubt the most remarkable man of this world — past or present. Of all the stories of the sons of men, there is none so replete with suffering and horror, so abounding in extraordinary providences, so overflowing with scenic romance. There is no man who approaches him in the extent and character of the influence which he has exercised over the human family. His history is the history of our civilization and progress in this world, and our faith and hope in that which is to come. From him have we derived the form and pattern of all that is excellent on earth or in heaven. . . . Even now, though the Jews have long since ceased to exist as a consolidated nation, inhabiting a common country, and for eighteen hundred years have been scattered far and near over the wide earth, their strange customs, their distinct features, personal peculiarities and their scattered unity, make them still a wonder and an astonishment"

After many years of careful study of the problem, I have come to the conclusion that the Gentile's attitude toward "Jews" is based on a personal experience; an individual contact. "**We met a Jewish family last summer at the beach — such nice people**". A few years ago I was a member of a discussion panel which in-

cluded several of the outstanding clergymen in the state. We told the audience to ask any questions without fear of "embarrassing" anyone, and we were rewarded with a few pointed queries based on the classic stereotype. I was interested to hear the "answers" from a Gentile colleague on the panel, a man well known for wisdom and liberalism. He said: "When I was a boy we had some Jewish neighbors — a fine family, etc"

I take nothing away from the greatness of Zebulon B. Vance, nor the affection we bear him, by pointing out this basic truth in Gentile-Jewish relations. It is quite possible, however, that Governor Vance's life-long friendship for the Jewish people may have had its origin in an experience at the end of the Civil War. Vance, the war-time Governor of North Carolina, returned to his home in Statesville under orders of the Union General Schofield. On May 13, 1865, a squadron of General Hugh J. Kilpatrick's cavalry surrounded his home, arrested him and prepared to take him to Washington. As the railroad and telegraph lines had been completely destroyed, Statesville was cut off from the outside world. The Union officer in charge wanted the Governor to ride horseback thirty-five miles to the railroad at Salisbury. A Jewish merchant, Samuel Wittkowsky, urged the Union officer to spare the Governor this indignity. It was agreed that Wittkowsky would "deliver" Governor Vance to Salisbury. And on that May day, the famous war Governor and the immigrant Jew started out on the long buggy ride surrounded by two hundred Union Cavalry. Wittkowsky became one of the most successful business men in the state. He established the first building and loan enterprise in the South and amassed a huge fortune. At the funeral of Senator Vance, Wittkowsky was among State and National dignitaries who delivered eulogies. With the simple faith of Anatole France's "Juggler", Mr. Wittkowsky said: — "No Israelite in North Carolina ever voted against Zebulon B. Vance." (52)

THE STRUCTURE OF THE COMMUNITY

South Carolina's first synagogue at Charleston was established in 1750. North Carolina's first synagogue at Wilmington, Temple of Israel, did not come until 125 years later, in 1875. During that entire period Charleston remained the one sizeable Jewish community in the Carolinas; in the South. The other South Carolina communities now growing fast in Columbia, Greenville, and Spartanburg developed in the wake of the industrial growth of the Piedmont section of the Carolinas, simultaneously with the expanded growth of the cities in North Carolina.

In 1910 there were five established congregations in North Carolina, and four in South Carolina. The first state-chartered Y M H A in the South had been established at Asheville (N.C.) in 1909. (53)

In 1956 there are forty-four established congregations, a full-time "circuit-riding" rabbi to minister to the small towns, and over sixty local and state-wide fraternities, charity federations and associations. (51)

According to the census records for 1870 there were approximately 250-300 Jews in North Carolina and 450-500 in South Carolina. (55) Since there were no established congregations (outside of Charleston) I made the estimate on the basis of "name" and "place of birth"; for example:- "**Morris Springer, age 35, born in Poland**". Of these 700-800 Jews in the Carolinas, thirty-four were native-born, eleven were born in Georgia, three hundred and ten gave Germany, Bavaria, or Prussia as their birthplace, nine were natives of Philadelphia, twelve from New York, twenty-eight from Poland, seven from England, and one from Holland. These records cover men, women and children, and the discrepancy in the totals is due to the fact that the "birthplace" reports were not complete on many individuals. These census records, now on microfilm, are wonderful things. We never realize the work that's quietly done in our libraries, state archives, and historical departments. You may be interested in seeing a few of the names; — Solomon, Leon, Donar, Ettinger, Drucker, Rintels, Wolfe, Kahn, Kohn, Cohen, Cohn, Cone, Nathan, Frankenthal, Rothbard. If I came across "Smith" born in New York, I passed it up, but I included "Smith" born in Poland, and probably hit the proper average. The "occupations" listed in the census reports include:- "Merchant", "clerk", "dry goods dealer", "clothing dealer", "wife", "widow". and on each census record there is one "soldier".

(No census reports were available for hundreds of isolated communities of the State, but this would not have any substantial bearing on our figures). The "importance" of the in-

dividual community followed the pattern of the industrial development. In 1870 the most important "Jewish" community in North Carolina was Statesville. This was due primarily to the presence of the Wallace family. Isaac and David Wallace were peddlers who started in the vicinity of Bamberg, South Carolina, upon their arrival in this country in 1859. (56) A few years later they moved to Statesville where they established a mercantile business. They sold supplies to the farmers, ran a small banking business and a drug counter. They encouraged the farmers to bring their roots and herbs to the Wallace store and soon the brothers developed a crude drug business on a national scale which was to help the farmers of five North Carolina counties for nearly seventy-five years. Toward the end of the 19th century Wilmington, the seaport of North Carolina, became the largest Jewish community. The importance shifted again to the western part of the state with the great industrial development of the Piedmont section. Since the 1920's, the cities of Charlotte, Greensboro, Durham and Winston-Salem have had the largest and most active communities. In the November, 1875, issue of **The American Israelite**, published by Rabbi Isaac Mayer Wise in Cincinnati, Ohio, there appeared this item:—"Charlotte, North Carolina is a city of 8,000 inhabitants and we have about twenty Jewish families. The Jewish ladies of the city have a Society under the name of the **Ladies Benevolent Society**. Last Purim we gave a ball, and cleared \$100. The last meeting took place in the home of J. Rintels and the following were elected officers for the year 1876:—President, Mrs. J. Rintels; Vice-President, Mrs. A. Frankenthal; Secretary, Mrs. J. Rothschild; Treasurer, Mrs. J. Baumgarten; Trustees of the School Committee, Miss E. Baruch, Miss L. Goldberg, and Mrs. F. Frankenthal. Our town is small but gives promise of becoming a greater city than any of her sister cities." Signed: "A. S." (Charlotte has a population of 160,000 today, the largest city in the Carolinas)

In 1880 Washington Duke brought some 200 Jewish cigarette makers to Durham, but they returned to the North after a year when a dispute arose over the scale of wages.

The estimated Jewish population of the Carolinas in 1956 based on synagogue and fraternal memberships is 4,680 families, or approximately 16,500 souls in the two states.

There are several new developments which may change the entire picture. The first concerns a steady stream of traveling salemen who are now establishing their homes in the South, particularly in Greensboro, N. C. (for the territory of Virginia and the Carolinas), and in Atlanta, Ga. (for the territory of Georgia, Florida, Alabama, etc.). For many years these salesmen covering the Southern territory continued to maintain their homes in the metropolitan cities of the North; however (increased Jewish population, expanded communal, fraternal, and

entertainment facilities) they are now moving their families **into the territory**. For this section, it appears that Greensboro, N. C., is the most convenient base for their operations, and the city now has the largest Jewish population in the state of North Carolina, over 500 families.

There is yet another development which may change more than population statistics. Indeed it may very well change the character of Jewish life in the Carolinas if not in the entire South. Dozens of manufacturers in the needle trades have been establishing factories in the Carolinas. For the first time, (Greenville, Columbia, S. C., and Charlotte, N. C.), we now find Jewish "employees"—factory superintendents, machinists, designers, and cutters. This has not yet reached sufficient proportions to affect the Jewish structure in the South (single class of proprietors) but it will be interesting to watch a development which may have important sociological results.

THE SINGLE PROPRIETARY CLASS AND THE NEGRO

As I have already pointed out the Jewish migration from the large northern centers into the Carolinas and the South in more substantial numbers began in the first decade of this century when the rolling mills and textile plants were beginning to flourish. As the population grew, merchants established retail stores in every city, town and rural way-station in the South. Nearly all these retail establishments sold "soft goods"—ready-to-wear clothing and accessories. The initial success of these small merchants was due to the fact that they permitted the Negro to try on the merchandise for size and fit without the obligation to make the purchase. The rule governing Negroes for many years after the Reconstruction period was:—"Don't touch it if you're not going to buy it."

The Jewish merchants in general did not follow this policy, and in fact catered to the Negro market for ready-to-wear and other apparel.

Let me point out at this moment another reason for the ready "acceptance" of the Jewish merchant in the small towns of the South from the very first day of his arrival. The merchant catered primarily to Negro business, and when he allowed the Negroes to try on the merchandise it eliminated him (the Jewish storekeeper) as a serious competitor for the more desirable "white" business. This was at a time when the Negro buying power was very low. Thus the Jew was performing a mercantile function in the community without being an economic "threat" to the Gentile merchants. By the time the Jewish merchant had expanded his business sufficiently to attract "white" customers, and by the time the "best" stores began to compete for the Negro market themselves, the Jewish merchant had already established deep roots in the community—civic works, "good citizenship", local philanthropy, etc. (57)

We must remember that the Jew himself did not permit his relationship with the Negro to go beyond that of tradesman and customer. As the merchant prospered he identified himself more and more with the white middle class, and eventually assumed the attitudes and often the prejudices of the white majority.

The social relationship of the Jew and Gentile and of the Jew and the Negro in the South would require a lengthy study of its own.

The entire economy of the Jew in the South is based on self-employment. (57) If a man loses his business and lacks the capital to try again, he will find it necessary to go to one of the metropolitan centers in the North to find a job. When the young man is ready to embark upon his career he will go into business

with his father or father-in-law, or he may take a job as a salesman, traveling the territory for a (Jewish) manufacturer, wholesaler or mill agent. In effect the 4,680 Jewish families in the Carolinas represent a single proprietary class of small capitalists: retailers, jobbers, wholesalers, manufacturers, traveling salesmen or mill agents. Their activities center around the manufacture and distribution of textiles, wholesalers and mill agents for the knitting and hosiery mills, operators of retail stores (ready-to-wear and credit jewelry), manufacture and distribution of chemicals, and dealers in textile machinery, metals, metal scrap, linen service and supply, pawn brokers, and cotton waste. There are no Jews in banking, insurance, publishing, or in the food, drug, beverage, tobacco and construction industries. If "successful business is honest business", the Jews of the Carolinas (and the South) have achieved a record that compares favorably with the general community. At least seventy per cent of the establishments, plants, and stores doing business today are operating under original certificate of ownership or articles of incorporation. Being completely unemployable (there were no laborers, sales girls, mill-hands, white collar workers, clerks, or civil servants) the Jew could identify himself with the Gentile upper middle-class, (merchant, mill owner, political leader, banker) almost from the moment of his arrival. Because of this "common interest" the Jewish community took on more and more of the tone of the conservative majority, and this included strict neutrality where the Negro was concerned. (58) But of course it goes deeper than that. It is part, too, of the "sensitivity" of the entire middle-class, Jew and Gentile alike: the "fear" that any change; political, economic or social, may disturb the structure that has "worked" (so well). The Jew, however, has felt himself doubly exposed. He has the same "fears" common to his economic class, plus another fear—anti-semitism. Under those conditions he has felt no inclination to become a "crusader". (59) This additional fear of anti-semitism has also become more and more intense as prosperity and wealth increased.

Of course much of this "sensitivity" is based on actual contact. During the past ten years there has been considerable labor-union activity in the South, particularly in the textile industry. Some employers have not been above using anti-semitism as a weapon against the union organizers. And I have known of at least two cases where the textile unions used the same tactics in their organizing efforts involving mill owners. Thus it operates both ways, and it is not pleasant. The textile industry of the South is less than twenty per cent organized, but the textile mills owned by Jews are over sixty per cent organized. In fact there are two very large textile centers where the only mills under union contract are Jewish-owned. The reason is obvious. The prospect of labor trouble in a small community involving a

"rich Jew" is not a happy thought, and the organizers are well aware of this situation. In one of these mills all the managerial employees were Gentiles, but the union made sure to acquaint the mill workers with the "Jewish" name of the absentee owner. This "vulnerability" goes further. When a Jewish employer is sued for either damages or remuneration of some kind, real or fancied, he usually settles it the best way he can. I know of an instance in Charlotte where the claim was pretty flimsy on the surface, but the "rich Jew" thought better of it than to appear on a witness stand before a lawyer with "a poor hard-working" client who "teaches the Bible in his spare time". In one such case that did get to court, the Gentile lawyer described Jewish life in the ghetto of the "old country" beautifully. He sounded just like Scholem Aleichem. His point was well taken when the jury looked at the prosperous and well-fed "product" of such lowly origin.

SEGREGATION - JEW AND GENTILE

But the most important cause of this "sensitivity" and "fear" is based on the almost complete social segregation which exists between Gentile and Jew. The normal fears of the upper middle class in the Gentile group are ameliorated considerably by the strength that comes from an overflowing of social life and communication within their group. The Jew, however, lacks the strength and the assurance that comes with direct communication with his potential allies in the fight against bigotry and un-democratic forces. He has no one to talk to about the one thing that worries him most (anti-semitism) except fellow Jews who are as scared as he is; or professional "defense" workers who scare him even more. Actually he never really knows how his Gentile neighbor, customer, and business associate feel about things, and that of course worries him even more. He has many allies, to be sure, in the Gentile society, but most of these allies have been won for him by "outsiders"; professional good-will organizations such as the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the Anti-Defamation League and others. But it is not the same thing. It is not the same as saying to a Gentile neighbor or friend, "Fred, let's do something about this hate-monger". But the Jew cannot say it. He may be absolutely sure of "Fred", but he is never sure of "Fred's" luncheon companion, or of one of the guests, unknown to him, whom he may meet at "Fred's" house. It is a two-way street. The social segregation is both imposed and self-imposed, and it is hard to see where one leaves off and the other begins. The Gentiles forever speak of Jewish "exclusiveness", but they fail to understand this constant fear of being exposed to an anti-semitic expression. The Jew feels "safe" (from face-to-face anti-semitic expression) only at the very top strata of the Gentile social structure. Once he goes below that "top" he is exposed to the greeting: "How is the Jew tonight?" There may not even be the slightest hostile intent behind these pinpricks, but the Jew does everything possible to avoid them. Let us take a closer look at this.

Of all the immigrant groups to our shores, the Jew was the first to enter the American economic middle-class. I have already discussed some of the reasons for this. The European ghetto and the Pale of Settlement were a fifteen-hundred-year training period for American middle-class life. This goes way back. The early church turned the Jews into an urban people. Fifteen hundred years ago, the Jews were forbidden by law from the ownership of land. These restrictions were based on the attempt to safeguard the tithes that would be lost to the church if Jewish-owned lands, farms, and real property were to pass down from one generation to another. They turned to trade. Under benevolent Popes, Dukes, and Kings they performed an educational function all through the middle ages. They in-

augured the mercantile system, for one. At another stage they developed the silk trade and for several hundred years the Jews were the chief source of supply of the vestments for the European priesthood. At other periods in history they served as commercial liaison between the aristocrat and the peasant-class, performing many of the functions required by each.

There is a pattern that runs parallel with the history of the Jews in Europe. After a certain period of prosperity and comparative peace, the peasant-class would begin to respond to the experience gained by their Jewish contacts and they proceeded to take over. Every two hundred years or so it was the peasant who calmly announced "the end of the Jew" as a functioning group. In taking over each of these Jewish "commercial" and "service" innovations, economic anti-semitism was born, representing a great change from the medieval set-up of religious anti-semitism. The functions were "taken over" either by new legal restrictions or expulsion; sometimes by massacre. This economic anti-semitism went into high gear toward the end of the 19th century. The movement reached its climax after World War I, in the vacuum created by the elimination of the Hohenzollerns, the destruction of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and the Bolshevik revolution in Russia. The historic European role of the Jews as the middle class in an aristocrat-peasant society was to be taken over again, and this time by force. When Hitler opened his campaign of hate, defamation and murder, Europe welcomed him.

If we carefully examine the dynamics of Jewish life in America, we will find that "security" within this society is based (a) on the tradition of freedom, and (b) on the steadily dwindling "peasant-class". That is why the American Jews all but worshipped Franklin D. Roosevelt. The New Deal actually was eighty per cent agrarian reform, and twenty per cent trade-unionism, with little direct "benefit" to the Jews as a group. The urban small-capitalist was not an important beneficiary of the Roosevelt reforms. But the Jew understood, almost by instinct, that his "safety" was involved. He knew that the greatest weapon against the economic anti-semitism of the modern world was an expanded economic reform for all the people. I doubt seriously whether Roosevelt would have helped create the sovereign State of Israel as Truman did. Apparently he (Roosevelt) had made many commitments to the Arab leaders, but no matter how Roosevelt would have handled the matter the Jews of America would have kissed his hand for it. The Jew, watching the affairs in Europe, somehow knew that he had a stake in Roosevelt's rural electrification, TVA, FHA, HOLC, CCC, legislation favorable to labor, bank deposit insurance, old-age pensions, and social security. The great American tradition of freedom is wonderful, but it also helps (the Jew) to

know that the great mass of the people have jobs, own television sets, and that the automobiles are paid for. I always tell my Gentile audiences that there are five million American Jews praying for their success and their prosperity; praying that their children grow up to be strong and sturdy and go on to good, happy lives in peace and prosperity. Those who are infected with anti-semitism have an incurable malady, but there are three things which have always prevented the contagion from spreading:- peace, prosperity, and a dwindling "peasant-class".

I was trying to tell you about the Jewish entry into the American middle class. The early church had established the two policies which were intended to be both oppressive and punitive. It turned out, however, that the ghetto was also a fortress of survival, and the restrictions of the activities to trade and finance were made to order for life in the industrial age of the western world.

As the Jew in the Carolinas, and in the South, entered this economic middle class, he sought social contacts with his opposite number in the Gentile middle class. This was not easy, and anti-semitism had very little to do with it. (60) In the first place the member of the Gentile middle class was himself a comparative newcomer to his high economic position; and it had taken him much longer. He therefore became highly selective in his social contacts even among the people within his own religious group. The pattern has been fairly easy to follow. First he belongs to a "downtown" church. As his economic status improves he joins with a group of his economic equals and organizes a church "uptown" or in his suburban neighborhood, where his social contacts will be more in keeping with his improved economic status; which means visiting the same type of homes as his own, belonging to the same clubs, doing the same things together, and exposing his children to marriages at the same economic group level. With all these serious considerations, this man is not ready to jump at the chance of a social contact with an "outsider". It is somewhere in the area of this social segregation that the "defense" efforts against anti-semitism run into the law of diminishing returns, because actually anti-semitism is not involved. The only reason he does not emphasize the "need" for similar "restrictions" against Italians, Poles, Czechs, Greeks, Slovenes and Armenians (all Christians) is because these groups have not acquired the economic status to pose a social "threat" to him. (It was only in recent years that the Irish "made it".) This "social status" is important to the Gentile middle class and upper middle class. They have worked hard to establish it, and their big worry is that some day they may find it no longer "exclusive". (60)

When the Jew seeks these social contacts "at the summit", he is trying to complete the circle and leave his "immigrant"

origin forever. The Gentile who resists this, ("restricted" residential areas, luncheon clubs, resort hotels, country clubs, private schools, etc.), is doing it for the same reason. It depends entirely on WHO "ran the rooming house", the mother, the grandmother, or the great-grandmother, and his liberalism (security of his social position) expands as his own "immigrant" origin recedes further and further into the past. If it was the "great-grandmother" who "ran the rooming house" you will find this Gentile tipping his hat to the newly arrived Latvians, dedicating the Negro YMCA, sitting on the dais every time he is invited by Jews, Greeks, Italians, etc., — and having a good time generally.

The Jew does the same thing within his own group. Lacking the numbers to organize a new congregation strictly along economic lines, he organizes a country club. There are seven such Jewish country clubs in Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. In the early days—the first such social societies and country clubs were organized on the basis of European origin. The German Jews in one club and the Polish and Russian Jews in another. Coincidentally this "segregation" was usually along economic lines, too. In recent years, however, these lines have disappeared completely; the cleavage is strictly "economic", the same as in the Gentile middle class. In the larger cities where there are Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform congregations, the country club invariably includes the top economic class of each congregation. In one city recently a lower economic group organized a new club so they could be "among their own". The Jewish country club of course is another result of this social segregation between Gentile and Jew. The pattern has been fairly consistent. First there is a long period of trying to get into the Gentile country club. Occasionally one Jew is admitted and the others become hopeful and wait some more. Eventually they give up and build their own. In one Carolina city the Gentile country club lost its slot machines. Confronted with a budgetary problem, they voted to take in Jews, but alas, it came too late, the Jews were already building.

As I said before the member of the Gentile middle class may be anti-semitic or he may never express himself on the matter, but he shies away from these relationships because he, too, is constantly worried about his own social position. Occasionally he is also worried about the possibility of a "mixed-marriage" involving his children. This has happened. Two young married couples, one Jew and the other Gentile, are good friends. They have a common interest; music, politics, or the racial question. When their children start high school the Gentile couple has cut off the relationship. On the other hand the Jew wants him (at the "top")—or nothing. There are several important reasons for this. First is the desire for "koved", the status which such social contacts would bring him within his own group. "He has

many Christian friends", the middle-class Jew of the South says with admiration. Conceivably the Jew could develop Gentile social contacts at a lower economic level than his own, but these would be highly unsatisfactory. Social contact means doing the same things together, eating in the same type of restaurant, visiting the same type of home, and spending the same kind of money. Obviously a social contact below his own economic level would do him more harm than good, and he avoids them. Secondly, and even more important, the Jew has that great fear of being exposed to an anti-semitic expression. He knows that at the "summit" of the Gentile economic structure he will have reduced the "exposure" to a minimum. Once he goes below that "top" he is not sure, and he refuses to risk it. Thus the Jew retreats to within his own group, piles one social and fraternal activity upon another and seeks through these functions the small "honors" and communal "rewards" which he feels are being withheld from him in the general community.

There are exceptions to this pattern of course. We have in the college towns and in some of the larger cities, a few "self-sustaining" Jews who do not necessarily seek Gentile social contacts, but who acquire them with ease because of their individual careers, principally educators, artists, scientists, and writers. Interestingly enough, these "self-sustaining" social relationships do not spill over into medicine, dentistry, and among lawyers. The "status" of individuals in these professions depends largely on "social contacts", and the Gentile-Jew social segregation is therefore as rigid as in commerce and trade.

There is yet another group in each of the large cities of the South. These are the few Jews who are the "social-conscious" liberals, particularly on the race question. These few Jews may or may not be outside the main strata of Jewish communal life, but they join with Gentiles who are definitely "outside" their own social group: non-conformists, labor-union officials, Unitarians, etc. Usually it is an inter-racial group and may represent the only direct line of communication in the city between the two races at the civic or social level. This is interesting. The Young Womens Christian Association is the one organization, and in many cities the only organization that has consistently offered its dining room facilities for these inter-racial luncheons. This group may just "talk", or it may actually expand into an Urban League or some other educational or political desegregation activity. "One touch of color" makes them kin; and at this level they achieve the closest social relationship known between Jew and Gentile in the society of the South. Together they actually weld themselves into a recognizable minority group of their own and pursue their political, cultural, and social lives together. Nearly always the group includes one or two Protestant clergymen.

SOUTHERN PHILO-SEMITISM

Segregation of Jew and Gentile disappears entirely, however, when one leaves the cities and passes into the small towns and rural communities of the agricultural plains. The Jew in the small farming center is really in an enviable position. He keeps the store (the "Jew store") and all his civic and social relations with the rest of the community start from this fixed point. He is "our" Jew to small-town Southerners, and they often take care of him with a zeal and devotion otherwise bestowed only on the Confederate monument in the square. There have been cases where the schools have closed an hour earlier for his funeral, in some towns they have flown the flag at halfmast on the Court House building, and high-school trophies have been presented in his memory.

So well established in his social position that the society editor of the local newspaper regularly records the comings and goings of his entire family, the births, the weddings, the Bar Mitzvahs, the visits of relatives. The editor calls on him as part of his regular rounds, and once a month or so, he may ask the Jewish merchant for a "wise saying by one of the rabbis" for the editorial page. There is an annual Passover story, and during the High Holidays the ladies of the several churches will make a tour of the Jewish homes to examine books and "ceremonial objects."

There is no social segregation whatsoever, no quota system. The Jewish merchant takes his regular turn as president of Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions, Retail Merchants, Country Club, Chamber of Commerce, and Community Chest. And it is precisely his "conspicuousness," his Jewish religion, that gives him a security and allows him a relaxation that would be the envy of his co-religionists of the metropolitan areas of the North. or for that matter, of the larger urban centers of the South.

It is a standing joke at the weekly civic club luncheons in the small towns of the South to put a ham platter in front of the Jewish member just as he is taking his place. Everybody watches during the singing of "Onward Christian Soldiers," and then they all laugh as one of the serving ladies, in all likelihood a member of the True Blue Bible Class, comes running down the aisle with the "kosher" dish: fried chicken, black-eyed peas, and mashed potatoes. (These Southerners are deeply concerned over the possibility of an "oversight" occurring when there are Jewish guests at their annual banquets. If pork is on the menu, they automatically serve you chicken, without comment or inquiry.)

The political influence of the individual small-town South-

ern Jew is astonishing, not only on the local level but also on the level of state and national politics. It is based on personal prestige rather than the power of the "Jewish vote," and is often greater than that of whole communities of Jews in the large cities. The Jewish storekeeper is often on first-name terms with the governor of the state, the Senators, and the Congressman and judges of his district. These men stopped by his store during their early political campaigns for sheriff, county attorney, and other minor offices, and the friendship thus begun continues through their lives.

If only for reasons of self-interest, Jews would do well to eliminate their own prejudice, where it exists, against "wool-hats," "red necks," and "yokels." The rural peoples of the South hark back to the agrarian civilization of the original Thirteen Colonies, and they are the living heirs of the old American tradition of philo-Semitism.

There is a touching naivety in the small-town Southerner's respect for the Jewishness of the Jew in his community. It springs from the Southern Protestant's own attachment to Biblical Judaism, which is manifested in the basic tenets of the several denominations: "The Open Bible on the Altar" (and no other adornment) of the Presbyterians; the Methodists' "Faith without works is dead" ("Good deeds save from Death"); and the Baptists' lack of a formal creed, their congregational autonomy, and their intense individualism. As in Judaism, no special holiday (not excepting Christmas) is considered as important as the weekly Sabbath; and the blue laws of the "Still Sabbath" are only paralleled among Orthodox Jews and the Puritans of Colonial New England—the latter, along with the rural South of modern times, being the heirs of the Sabbatarian Protestant sects of the British Isles. The orthodox Southern Presbyterians, organized in the Associated Reform church (A.R.P.), permit only the Psalms of David to be sung in church during the Sabbath service; Sabbath meals are served cold; and the Sunday comics are folded away for the children to read on Monday.

The small-town Southerner takes it for granted that to be a Jew is to be a religious Jew, that his friend the storekeeper fully possesses that Hebraic tradition handed down through the centuries for which the Southern Christian has so deep a respect. As the Jew in a small Southern town goes about his business of selling dry goods or ready-to-wear clothing, he rarely suspects the symbolic role he enacts for the Gentile society roundabout him—he represents the unbroken tie with sacred history and the prophets of the Bible, he is the "living witness" to the "Second Coming of Christ," the link between the beginning and the end of things. (I am willing to agree that Southern philo-Semitism, involving as it does only the religious or "positive" Jew,

may also be interpreted as part of the Gentile wish for Jewish separateness.)

This has placed a burden upon the learning and piety of the small-town Southern Jew that he is not always able to support. It has caused many a Southern Jew to re-examine those religious values which he had well-nigh abandoned. A protestant clergyman or a Sunday school teacher who knows the Pentateuch by heart will stop by the store to ask his opinion on some fine point of Biblical exegesis. Needless to say, the visitor often goes away with something less than a complete answer. I know merchants who travel fifty and sixty miles a week to attend a Jewish adult study group—"so I can give these people some kind of an answer!"

Even in the larger cities it has become standard practice in recent years among Protestant churches and seminaries to visit the synagogue or temple at least once a year in order to participate in a Sabbath service. A rabbi in one of the industrial cities of the Carolinas told me of a recent visit by an entire Methodist congregation. During the "open forum" after the service, the Methodist clergyman asked several questions about the Talmud. The rabbi commented to me: "For the first time in my career as a rabbi I spent two hours reciting the Ethics of the Fathers to a congregation."

This respect for the Jew as the heir, guardian, and living embodiment of the Old Testament tradition is notably evident in the absence of any organized attempt to convert him to Christianity. (The Methodists were the first officially to describe American culture as a "Judaic-Christian civilization"—at their Kansas City conference in 1928.) Evangelists, from the itinerant tent preacher to the world-renowned Reverend Billy Graham, address their appeal exclusively to "Gentiles" (Protestants), urging them to accept Jesus as their personal Saviour. The only appeal that is ever directed to the Jews comes from the few Jewish-convert evangelists active in the urban industrial centers. Far from attempting to proselytize the Jew, the small-town Southerner is more likely to be found supporting Jewish religious activities. Recently, the twenty Jewish families in Orangeburg, S. C., a farming town, announced that they would build a temple, setting for themselves a building-fund quota of \$35,000. A self-appointed "Christian Committee" immediately presented pledges of \$6,000. A few years earlier, the Gentile community Rock Hill, S. C., helped to put up the local synagogue. These are not isolated cases, by any means. And there is no doubt that they could be many times multiplied, where it not for the fact that Jews as a general rule do not think it good public relations to carry their fund-raising campaigns to the general public.

LOOKING INTO THE FUTURE

While this study does not concern itself with "looking into the future", there are several developments of a major significance which should be explored. The Conservative and Reform synagogues and temples, in their organizational structure and functions, more and more reflect the modes and attitudes of the Protestant majority. In the free and autonomous unit of religious worship: Jewish, Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian, etc., in which the believer pays directly for the construction of the edifice and the expenses of the organization, the great danger is that the propertyless, those without social or economic status in the community, will be neglected. (The absence of this process has always been a source of consistent strength to the Roman Catholic Church).

There is nothing necessarily insincere in this situation at all. In the context of our commercial society, the man who puts up the money to build a church or a temple, or who furnishes a large proportion of the budgetary needs, merely has the (honorable) desire to see that the money is spent wisely. Before he knows it, however, he has become the guiding spirit behind the entire church or temple organization. Eventually the very mechanics of this process must of necessity lead to his deep concern over what is "right or wrong" for the organization, and that includes the ritual, the sermon, and the policy in general. In short, as in the Protestant society, the *balebatim* (rich laymen) have taken over. (61) In the history of the Jewish tradition this is a very important development. It has already changed the classic function of the rabbi as the teacher of the congregation. There is now a growing emphasis on "pastoral" work, and the "public relations" activities within the general community.

Thus those who feel themselves neglected seek other outlets for both their religious fervor and desire for "self-expression" and "self-esteem". This may be the reason for the tremendous growth of such new Protestant sects as **The Church of God**, and may also explain the phenomenal response to the "revivals" of the unaffiliated evangelists. It was very fortunate that at the very height of this major development in American Jewish life, Zionism came along at the right moment to supply both the outlet for religious fervor as well as the opportunity for a sense of direct "participation". In essence this was the Jewish "revival" of mid-twentieth century life in America.

Yet the tremendous extent of new synagogue and temple organization and construction cannot be dismissed as being without deeper than surface significance.

First let us consider this paradox: that the more "Americanized" the Jew becomes, (i. e., longer domiciled in the United

States), the more definite is the trend toward a greater sense of relaxation within the Gentile society. A mixed-marriage, for instance, appealed more to the immigrant or to the son of the immigrant than it does to a third-generation American Jew. He no longer feels the daily "need" to identify himself in "American" terms. He is IT.

It is interesting to see how the same pattern applies to the Hebrew-Christian evangelists. I had occasion to interview the leaders in this field, including Hyman Appleman, Judah Kligerman, Jacob Gartenhaus, Jerome Fleischer, Arthur Glass, and one or two others. (62) In every case the convert-evangelist was a comparatively recent arrival in America. In addition, each told me that he was either the son of a rabbi or had studied for the rabbinate himself. Conceivably an Americanized Jew would lose some of his appeal for the "revival" audiences, but it is unlikely that a second or third generation Jew would become a Hebrew-Christian evangelist under the most favorable conditions. The first generation Jew who came here (1890-1914) was interested in "becoming an American" as quickly as possible. Many of the cultural values which would have actually helped him in this process were discarded, but this phenomenon was not discovered at the time. The second generation was intent upon "getting ahead"—fighting to gain admission to the American middle class. Every Jewish mother on the East Side said that her son "will become a doctor" (or a lawyer), because she identified those terms with both "escape" from the Ghetto, and automatic entry into the American middle class. When he finally "made it", he discovered a social segregation, partly imposed and partly self-imposed, that gave him little opportunity of contact with the Gentile society at the personal level.

It would be wise therefore to look to the children for our answer; the sons and daughters of second generation American-born Jews. Today they actually represent the backbone of Jewish religious life in the South, and probably elsewhere in the country. They are the ones who are "demanding" this expansion of the religious institutions and community centers because the terms of their day-to-day living are entirely different from those their grandparents or parents had known. They are far more relaxed in their attitudes and associations and the values that are constantly stressed by their Gentile classmates and friends are in terms of "Sunday School", "church", "my preacher", and "The Bible". The State of Israel will be another "normalizing" factor in the life of the next generation of American Jews. Much of the atmosphere of "enigma" (homelessness) will have been removed. Following their own cultural, religious, and sentimental ties with the "homeland", they will be able to participate at the most uninhibited level of American life; — ("toasting" the King of Sweden on New Year's Day in Minne-

sota and the Dakotas; wearing a green tie and parading on St. Patrick's Day in New York and Boston; wearing native costume on Tulip Day in Michigan and Delaware; carrying the banners of Genoa, Florence, and Milan on Columbus Day in New York and Connecticut; meeting every Tuesday night with the New Germany Alliance in Yorkville; and for the great mass of Anglo-Saxon Protestants in the country, maintaining a reverential guardianship over the "Mother Country".

The greater relaxation; living within the more recognizable terms of the society around them: and Israel; are the factors in this new development—even now in progress—the emergence of a new American-type Judaism, and a new American-type Jewish communalism. (63)

THE SOUTH IS PEOPLE

Look *Homeward Angel*, Thomas Wolfe's great novel, is frankly autobiographical; the author thinly disguises himself as Eugene Gant. He writes of "Edward Michalove", the first Jew to whom he—(Wolfe—Gant)—ever gave sober thought. He recalls his experience with "Edward":-

"Eugene thought of this young Jew years later with the old piercing shame, with the riving pain by which a man recalls the irrevocable moment of some cowardly or dishonorable act. For not only did he join in the persecution of the boy—he was also glad at heart because of the existence of some one weaker than himself, someone at whom the flood of ridicule might be directed. . . . He never forgot the Jew; he always thought of him with shame."

In a State with more than its share of great writers, Tom Wolfe was of course the most talented Tar Heel of this generation. (64)

But in recent years many people of lesser talent have indulged in both introspection and "action" with respect to the "fear" that obsessed them (Southerners) after the Reconstruction; "fear" of "Negro", "alien" and "Northerner". These Southerners began to appear way back; Oscar Underwood of Alabama openly challenged the Klu Klux Klan, when it took more courage than wisdom; Governor Thomas Hardwick of Georgia demanded the Klan's unmasking when he knew very well it meant the end of his political career. The newspaper men in particular put the issue squarely up to the decent and honorable Southerners. It is interesting that both Klan movements, the big one after World War I and the little one after World War II, encountered their first open challenge from Southern editors. Grover Hall in the *Montgomery (Ala.) Advertiser* in 1925, and Willard Cole of the *Whiteville (N. C.) News-Reporter*, Horace Carter of the *Tabor City (N. C.) Tribune* and reporter Jay Jenkins of the *Raleigh (N. C.) News and Observer*, in 1952. Mr. Hall gave the giant Klan of his day its first setback, and the efforts of the Carolina newspapermen resulted in the arrest and conviction of the new Klan leaders. (65) The men of decency and good taste were making themselves felt everywhere in the South. Dr. Edwin McNeill Poteat of Wake Forest (Baptist) College; the late Dr. Harry Woodburn Chase, and his successor Dr. Frank P. Graham of the University of North Carolina, helped to establish the foundation of a new Southern liberalism. During the period, 1935 - 1950, these men, (and a generation of their alumni) had actually succeeded in making a Southern state, (North Carolina) one of the centers in the struggle against anti-intellectualism.

The Charlotte News on April 23, 1955, under the editorial head: "A Rough Week for the Anti-Semites", commented on the death of Albert Einstein, and the report that the polio vaccine developed by Dr. Jonas Salk had been found 90 per cent effective. It was a good "reminder"; a reminder that in the South of 1955 the anti-semite did not have a single respectable ally.

But basically the South, like America itself, is **People**. Of strong men and weak. Of bold visionaries and of frightened newcomers. Of people like the Jewish immigrant Dr. Joseph Goldberger who lived in Negro shacks of the South long enough to discover a cure for pellagra and helped thousands of Southern children grow up with sturdy legs; of Julius Rosenwald of Sears Roebuck who contributed millions of dollars to provide elementary education for rural Negro children of the South until the several states assumed the responsibility. Of Mrs. Connor, the Roman Catholic mother of Judge Henry Groves Conner and Mrs. Emil Rosenthal, wife of a Jewish merchant of Wilson; and Mrs. Mary Cleaves Daniels, a Methodist and mother of Josephus Daniels. The three women were known as the "Three Almoners" who pioneered in nursing and welfare work in the days when there were no trained nurses, no hospitals, no Red Cross or Community Chest organizations; of the Weil Family of Goldsboro with the Weil Lectures on Citizenship at the University of North Carolina, and of a Malissia Hayward of Montgomery County, who at the turn of the century made her farmhouse a haven of rest for the Jewish peddlers traveling over the territory. She helped them with their English lessons and listened to their letters from Europe. Mr. Harry Richter of Norwood, N. C., recalls her in an interesting letter. (Harry Ritcher and Moses Ritcher, Jewish immigrants from Russia, who came to North Carolina as peddlers in the closing days of the 19th century. Today Moses Richter, of Mt. Gilead, N. C., is the largest independent peach distributor in the country serving hundreds of farmers and peach growers in the Carolinas. He also operates several large mills manufacturing cotton and rayon finished products.) Mr. Richter's letter:—

"The first time I met the Haywoods was in the late afternoon of a warm spring day. They were both engaged in chopping cotton. It was in the early part of the century and I, a young man, newly arrived from Southern Russia, was peddling my wares in the sparse settlements of Montgomery County, North Carolina. No transactions were made, but the Haywoods displayed a curious interest in me. They offered me lodging for the night which I gladly accepted. It was quite evident that the Haywoods were very poor, earning their livelihood from a none too impressive farm. (Cotton was selling at \$25.00 a bale and corn in proportion). Still, there was a serenity and orderliness about

the place that made it quaint, if not attractive.

"The dominant figure in this idyllic environment was the mistress of the home herself. Her name was Malissia Frances. I later learned that she was related, on her mother's side, to Flora MacDonald. Of this she was very proud.

"The evening was spent in difficult conversation. (I was barely three months in the country), and right there and then I received my first lesson in English. Malissia Haywood, a school teacher in her younger days, introduced me into the intricacies of the English language. This lesson was followed up by many others on my subsequent visits.

"Though deeply religious, she was most tolerant of the beliefs of others. This was clearly demonstrated when on long winter nights we'd all sit and listen to Malissia's readings from the Bible. When I expressed my preference for the Old Testament, she seemed bewildered at first, but after a brief explanation, she acquiesced most graciously with all her usual natural tact and charm and, thereafter, refrained from her favorite New Testament in my presence. I later realized the unfairness of my position and requested that she alternate between the Old and New Testaments. I somehow felt that the great Hillel would have done likewise. The letters I'd get from home written in Yiddish, had to be read aloud in the original, but just for the sound of the only foreign language she ever heard. Then it had to be translated word for word.

"She frequently reminded me of my duties towards my parents on 'the other side'. It made her very happy every time I sent money to my parents.

"The dietary observances of her Jew boarders were looked after most carefully. The biscuits were prepared without lard and the eggs were kept at a safe distance from the inevitable porker, of which there were always several varieties on the table. She was an educated woman according to the standards of late 19th and early 20th century, and although looked up to by her less endowed sisters, never made a display of her superiority.

"But let it be remembered that the case of Malissia Haywood, remarkable woman that she was, was not an isolated one. There were many Malissias in those days throughout the length and breadth of the land. It was they who befriended us, confused, bewildered immigrants newly arrived from a different world, with the European milieu still in our bones. The adjustment was difficult, sometimes painful, and it was the Malissias in every state of the South who gave us the care and warmth that meant so much in the early stages of our becoming Ameri-

cans. Many, like myself, were mere youngsters, fresh from the last embrace of their mothers, left alone with their fears and longings for the sons they were never to see again—our sad-eyed mothers in the ghettos of Europe who gave so much of themselves and received so little in return. The Malissia Haywoods took us into their homes, gave us the best room in the house, the choicest bed, and made us feel that we were more than mere laughable individuals with a foreign accent. They raised our dignity and gave us hope. To them we were the sons of the old proud Hebrews with the blood of prophets in our veins. They were the first to make us feel that we really belonged."

Mrs. T. J. Lassiter, Sr., publisher of the **Smithfield (N. C.) Herald**, wrote an editorial on the death of Josephus Daniels, publisher, Secretary of the Navy in the Wilson Administration, and Ambassador to Mexico:—(66)

"I last saw Mr. Daniels early in December standing in Raleigh's Jewish synagogue, the **House of Jacob**, wearing a black skull cap like that of the Rabbi and other men of the congregation and talking about the partition of Palestine.

"That service was my first in a synagogue and it was a unique experience. As I listened to the young Rabbi lead the responsive readings in pleasing sonorous tones and heard the Hebrew voices in response, the thing that kept recurring to me was: Jesus Christ was a Jew. He was of similar men as those I saw around me. He spoke the Hebrew language. Why is it that there has been so much prejudice during the years against this race?

"Such prejudice Josephus Daniels never shared. Mr. Daniels' participation in a Jewish religious service was another expression of his ever-deepening democratic spirit.

"The service will linger long in my memory because it was my first in a Jewish synagogue and was my last contact with Josephus Daniels."

Three hundred years ago, the ancient Jewish experience, amplified by the Christian tradition at its best, found its way into the new American experiment. As we peer into the future, it seems resplendent with promise under our system of freedom, provided only that we fortify this freedom with a self-discipline and a social discipline, attuned to the awesome problems which confront us.

NOTES

1. Speech delivered by Lord Macaulay in the British House of Commons, April 17, 1833. (Trevelyan, G. O., **Life of Macaulay**)

2. We must except Julius Caesar and Emperor Augustus, the greatest Romans of them all. The destruction of Jerusalem and anti-semitism came later. Caesar and Augustus were devoted friends of the Jewish people and gave them both freedom of worship and freedom to travel anywhere in the Empire.

Bar Cochba in the years 131 - 135 made the last effort in antiquity to recover the Jewish Holy Land. He fell defending Bethar after the Romans destroyed 550 towns in Palestine, and killed 580,000 men. A still larger number died of starvation defending Jerusalem. So many Jews were sold into slavery that the price fell to that of a horse. Thousands hid in underground channels rather than be captured; surrounded by Romans, they died one by one of hunger, while the living ate the bodies of the dead, (Appian, **Roman History**; quoted in **Story of Civilization**, by Will Durant, vl. III, p. 548).

Hadrian, enraged by the almost unbelievable resistance of the Jews, decided to destroy the recuperative powers of Judaism once and for all. He forbade not merely circumcision, but the observance of the Sabbath and any Jewish holiday or public performance of a Jewish ritual. The Jews were allowed in Jerusalem only one day a year, when they might come and weep before the ruins of the Temple. The pagan city of Aelia Capitolina rose on the site of Jerusalem, with shrines to Jupiter and Venus. Rabbi Akiba, now ninety-five years old, insisted on teaching his pupils; he was imprisoned for three years, but taught even in jail; he was tried and condemned, and died, with the basic tenet of Judaism on his lips: "**Hear, O Israel, the Lord is our God, the Lord is One.**" Writes Dr. Will Durant: "Shut out from their Holy City the Jews were compelled to surrender it first to Paganism, then to Christianity. Scattered into every province and beyond, condemned to poverty and humiliation, unbefriended even by philosophers and saints, they retired from public affairs into private study and worship, passionately preserving the words of their scholars, and preparing to write them down at last in the Talmuds of Babylonia and Palestine. Judaism hid in fear and obscurity while its offspring, Christianity, went out to conquer the world." (Caesar and Christ. p. 549, Simon and Schuster, N. Y.)

3. Zweig, Stefan, **Romain Rolland** (1921).
4. Will Durant, **Caesar and Christ** (New York: Simon and Schuster, **The Story of Civilization**), III, 199.
5. Cecil Roth, **Two Cradles of Jewish Liberty**, (London: Anglo-Jewish Association, 1955), 18.
6. Address before the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, quoted in **Time Magazine**, Aug. 18, 1952.
7. George Bancroft, **History of the United States** (New York, 1886), III, 314.

8. Leon Huhner, "Religious Liberty in North Carolina With Special Reference to the Jews," **Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society** (New York, 1907) No. 16, 37-71.
9. Luzzatti, Luigi, **God in Freedom**, Macmillan, 1927, p. 426.
10. Huhner, Leon, "The Jews of South Carolina from the Earliest Settlement to the end of the American Revolution." **Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society**, No. 12 (New York, 1904), p. 118-121.
11. Reznikoff, Charles and Engelman, Uriah Z., **The Jews of Charleston**, Philadelphia, 1952.
12. Corwin, Norman; **The Golden Door**, Produced Cleveland Public Music Hall, March 23, 1955.

Silber, Mendel. "America in Hebrew Literature." **Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society**, No. 22 (New York, 1914).
13. Micah, Sixth book of the Minor Prophets, (6:8) a contemporary of Isaiah. The period of his preaching about 735 to 691 B. C.
14. Leon Huhner, "The Jews in North Carolina Prior to 1800," **Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society** (New York, 1925), No. 29, 141. (Hereafter cited as Huhner, "Jews in North Carolina.")
15. Aaron Cohen's gravestone (d. 1819) in the Baltimore Hebrew Benevolent Society cemetery is inscribed, "A Soldier in Washington's Army." References to J. Nathan and Sigmund Freudenthal were supplied by descendants: I. L. Lyon, Philadelphia, Pa., and Mrs. Walter Rausch, New York, N. Y., respectively.
16. Huhner, "Jews of North Carolina," 144-145.
17. The Hebrew Cemetery in Charlotte was organized in 1859. Prior to that date it was the custom to ship the remains of the dead either to the earlier established Hebrew cemeteries in Charleston, S. C., Wilmington, or Statesville, or more often to relatives in northern centers.
18. Huhner, "Jews of North Carolina," 142.
19. Elzas, Barnett A. **The Jews of South Carolina**. (Philadelphia, 1905). (Hereinafter cited as Elzas, **Jews of South Carolina**).
20. Oppenheim, Samuel. "The Jews and Masonry in the United States Before 1810." **Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society** No. 19 (New York, 1910).
21. Huhner, Leon. "Some Additional Notes on the History of the Jews of South Carolina." **Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society**, No. 19 (New York, 1910). (Hereinafter cited as Huhner, **Jews of South Carolina**).
22. Wolf, Simon. "The American Jew as Soldier and Patriot." **Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society**, No. 3 (New York, 1895).

23. Huhner, "Jews of South Carolina."
24. **The American Israelite**, edited by Isaac Mayer Wise; November 1875.
25. Program of the event loaned to me by Mr. Nelson I. Lyon of Philadelphia, Pa., son of the Mrs. (Fannie) Frankenthal Lyon who as a young girl was at the "Leap year hop" mentioned in the story.
26. Huhner, "Jews of North Carolina," 146.
27. Mordecai's **Miscellanies** (Durham, published privately, 1927), 35. I am indebted to Mr. Thad Stem, Jr., of Oxford, N. C., for the loan of a rare copy.
28. During the Middle Ages, many cities of Europe followed an Easter Sunday morning tradition, which had its origin in a law passed by the Council of Toulouse. The rabbi was required to present himself before several church dignitaries who symbolically (sic) slapped his face in public.
29. Not all Gentile wives enter the Jewish religious and social life with complete sincerity. Some have been known to identify themselves thoroughly with the Jewish group as an opportunity for less inhibited anti-semitic expression (above "suspicion" as it were). On the other hand, there are some who make "better" Jews out of their Jewish husbands, i. e., lighting the candles on the Sabbath, influencing stricter adherence to ritual and observance. One Gentile wife, a particularly brilliant career woman, told me: "My religious views coincide roughly with those of my husband's type of Judaism, but I cannot give up the Methodist Church. If an American Hitler came along, I owe it to my children and to myself not to go into the ovens." The casualness of the statement shocked me, coming, as it did, from a 10th generation Protestant Tar Heel, and particularly after I had finished a long treatise on American-philo-semitism.
30. Huhner, **Jews of South Carolina**.
31. Full text of **The Scattered Nation**, Dowd, Clement, **Life of Zebulon B. Vance**, (Charlotte, N. C., 1897).
32. **Universal Jewish Encyclopedia**, **Alexander the Great**, New York, 1942. Vol. 1, p. 172.
33. Huhner, **Jews of South Carolina**.
34. Another Georgian was even more effective. Jewish attorney Charles J. Bloch of Macon, Georgia, led the fight against the "civil rights" plank in the party platform at the Democratic National Convention of 1948. Mr. Bloch led the Southern delegation out of the hall in protest.
35. Huhner, **Jews of South Carolina**.
36. Elzas, **Jews of South Carolina**.
37. Elzas, **Jews of South Carolina**.

38. Bernard Berenson, **Rumor and Reflection**, (N. Y., Simon and Schuster, 1952) p. 221.
39. Judd L. Teller's excellent work, **Scapegoat of Revolution** (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1955), 84-88. Hereafter cited as Teller, **Scapegoat of Revolution**.
40. Winston Churchill, **Greek and Jew**, from an address quoted in the **New York Times**, Jan. 11, 1948.
41. **Official Records of the War of the Rebellion**, Series 1, Volume XVII, Part 2, 424, issued on December 17, 1862, expelling all Jews from his (Grant's) department. On January 7, 1863, by direction of General Halleck, then general-in-chief, this order was revoked. This order can be found in the same volume as above, 544.
42. Teller, **Scapegoat of Revolution**.
43. Golden, Harry L. "A Son of the South and Some Daughters," **Commentary**, October, 1951.
44. A Son of Jacob Mordecai of Warrenton, N. C., Gratz Mordecai, "Notice of Jacob Mordecai, Founder and Proprietor from 1809 to 1818 of the Warrenton, (N. C.) Female Seminary," **Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society**, (New York, 1897), No. 6, 124-138. Jacob Mordecai married Judith Myers of Philadelphia. They lived in New York, Philadelphia, Richmond, Petersburg, and finally Warrenton (N. C.), where he established a country store in 1791. He also shipped tobacco and cotton to northern markets. Jacob's wife died in the birth of their seventh child. The eldest son, Moss, and eldest daughter, Rachel, were born in Richmond. All the other children were born in Warrenton, and they included sons Solomon, who studied medicine and practiced in Mobile, Alabama; Alfred, appointed to West Point from North Carolina in 1823; George Washington Mordecai practiced law in Raleigh, was first president of the Bank of the State of North Carolina, and president of the Raleigh and Gaston Railroad. He was a member of the commission appointed by Governor Charles Manly to study plans for a Hospital for Mental Patients. "Dix Hill," near Raleigh, was chosen by him. Another son, Samuel, settled in Richmond, Va., and was the author of **Richmond in By-Gone Days**. Major Alfred Mordecai mentioned above was the author of three textbooks used in West Point, **Reports of Experiments in Gunpowder, 1854-59, Artillery for the United States Land Service**, and **Ordnance Manual for Use of the Officers in the United States Army**, first edition 1841, second edition, 1850. Upon his resignation from the Army he settled in Philadelphia. After the war he helped build the Mexico and Pacific Railroad from Vera Cruz to the Pacific Ocean. Upon his return to Philadelphia he became Secretary and Treasurer of the Pennsylvania Canal Company, controlled by the Pennsylvania Railroad. The letter quoted giving his reason for resignation from the Army was included in his memoirs privately printed in Philadelphia in 1886 on the occasion of his fiftieth wedding anniversary.

45. **Jews in American History**, Harry L. Golden and Martin Rywell (Charlotte, N. C., 1950 p. 174.
46. American Jewish Archives, Hebrew Union College, Jewish Institute of Religion (Cincinnati, Ohio), June 1952, 109.
47. Bernice Kelly Harris, Foreword, **Folk Plays of Eastern Carolina** (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1940), xhi.
48. **Golden, Jews of the South.**
49. Cyrus Adler, Necrology (Caesar Cone). **Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society**, (New York, 1918), No. 26, 118-122.
50. Speech by Herman Cone quoted in Greensboro Daily News, January 16, 1955.
51. Clement Dowd, **Life of Zebulon B. Vance** (Charlotte, N. C., 1897). Full text of **The Scattered Nation**, 369, 399. Vance's experiences with Wittkowsky are related in the same volume, 95.
52. **Charlotte Observer**, April 17. 1894.
53. **The Carolina Israelite**, December, 1954; survey of the Jewish communities of the two Carolinas.
54. **The Carolina Israelite**, March, 1953.
55. State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, N. C.
State Department of Archives and History, Columbia, S. C.
56. History of the Wallace family furnished by Henrietta Wallace, Statesville, N. C.
57. Golden, Harry L., **Jew and Gentile in the New South. Commentary**; Dec. 1955.
58. **Golden, Jews of the South.**
59. Folklore is involved in the Jewish attitude toward the minority problem of the South. Some Jews feel that the Gentile world must have a "kaporeh" (a vicarious atonement for its sins), and that if the Southern Gentile did not have the Negro as his "kaporeh", his attention may be directed to another minority group in his midst.
60. It is interesting to note the method used to maintain this social segregation even when it involves civic and "good will" projects. When the member of the Gentile upper middle-class attends a social function under Jewish auspices or under the sponsorship of an organization such as the National Conference of Christians and Jews, he emphasizes the "civic" nature of the meeting by not bringing his wife, even when the invitation calls for her. This "stag" participation by the Gentiles at social and banquet functions involving Jews is also followed in reverse. On occasion when a Jew is invited to the home of his "opposite number" (polio drive, Community Chst, Chamber of Commerce) the invitation is extended to him personally. He will never bring his wife nor is he expected to do so. Thus the WIFE at all levels of the social structure remains the sym-

bol of social "participation".

However, even under those conditions the social segregation between the Gentile proprietors and the Jewish proprietors has been less rigid than the social segregation that existed between the Gentile proprietors and their Gentile (white) employees. At the bottom of the social structure was the "lint-head" (cotton mill worker). Usually he lived in a mill village with his own schools and churches. Children of the white middle class were not encouraged to fraternize with the children "on the hill" (mill village). Actually the Negro was "less" segregated, since he was in constant "communication" with the white population. The white mill worker had no such access at any time, not even through the back door. The only "communication" between Gentile proprietor and Gentile industrial worker has occurred in recent years through the medium of trade-union collective bargaining.

61. Golden, **A Pulpit In The South.**

62. Along with other revivalists, the "Hebrew-Christian" evangelist also finds his business booming in this supercharged fundamentalist atmosphere. And in his case there is an additional impetus supplied by the establishment of the State of Israel. "The prophecy is being fulfilled . . . The Jews are once again gathering in Palestine . . . the Second Coming is at hand," shout Appleman and Fleischer in North Carolina; Eddie Lieberman in South Carolina; Joseph Cohen in Virginia; Arthur Glass in Tennessee; Jacob Gartenhaus and Martin Chernoff in Georgia—to mention some of the more important and more successful "Hebrew-Christians."

They all heighten the drama by emphasizing their "Jewishness," using every trick of the stage or pulpit to fit themselves to the stereotype of the Jew that they know exists in the minds of their listeners. An exaggerated accent and overemphasized gesticulations in speaking are standard. A further emphasis on their "Jewishness" is obtained by the use of Hebrew phrases in sermons and printed tracts.

Most of the converts are foreign-born; probably an American-born Jew would lose most of his appeal as a "Hebrew-Christian" evangelist. Appelman, perhaps, might compete on his own merits as an evangelist, but like the others he chooses to make his appeal as a Jew, i. e., talking as a Jew is supposed to talk, looking and acting as a Jew is supposed to look and act. For the revival audience of Christian fundamentalists, the picture of a Jew witnessing for Christ reinforces their own fire-and-brimstone beliefs—and the effect would be dissipated if the Jew did not live up to their image of a Jew.

The vast majority of our Christian neighbors, friends, and associates simply remain amazingly naive. A Gentle friend or neighbor meets you on the street during one of the revivals and, in an obvious attempt to be pliant, says, "Great work that Appelman is doing, isn't it?" Occasionally, a Christian clergyman will invite the local rabbi to hear a "great Jewish preacher" during one of these revivals. And this is not for any lack of respect for the rabbi and his congregation: it is just that to many Christian Southerners a Jew is a Jew the way a Frenchman is a Frenchman. More than one Jew in the South

has at one time or another been asked in all sincerity: "Are you a Baptist Jew or a Methodist Jew?" (Golden, Harry L., "Hebrew-Christian Evangelist," **Commentary**, Dec. 1950).

63. Of course, the "exclusiveness" of the Jewish community in the South is not entirely self-imposed. There are established periods of Christian Bible study in all the elementary schools (in high schools it is now optional). The Jewish community maintains a respectful silence, primarily because of the tremendous preponderance of the Protestant population. The Jewish children have the option of leaving the room; but it's a difficult decision to make. Some believe it is better to remain seated than to have forty-three children watch one or two others shuffle out. Neither side, of course, can be expected to understand what it's all about. The Christian children wonder why one or two of their number "do not want to hear about God," and the Jewish child is also heartsick as well as bewildered.
 64. The anti-semitic literature which comes into the Carolinas (and the South) is postmarked "Inglewood, Calif." and "Glen-dale, Calif." In recent years the Conde McGinly paper **Common Sense**, mailed from New Jersey, is apparently being sent to the editors of the daily and weekly press of the South. It is interesting to note that except for Tom Watson in Georgia, the South has not produced a single anti-semitic writer or publicist. William Dudley Pelley, who operated out of Asheville (N. C.) before going to jail, never achieved any influence in the section, and the State of North Carolina had indicted him for fraud long before the Government proceeded against him. An interesting story with respect to the North Carolina novelist Thomas Dixon. Mr. Dixon never identified himself with anti-semitism as such, but his novel **The Clansman** ("Birth of a Nation"), contributed no little to the creation of the second Ku Klux Klan (1920). The novelist had developed a large hotel property in the Great Smokey mountains at Little Switzerland (N. C.) which he intended to use as a retreat for writers. The Dixon property is now the **B'nai B'rith Institute of Judaism**, having been purchased and donated for this purpose by I. D. Blumenthal, a businessman of Charlotte (N. C.)
- In general the writers, editors, and publishers of the Carolinas (and the South) represent the essence of this pattern of philo-semitism in America. The Protestant clergy, too, has produced many influential liberals in recent years. Upon the recent resurgence of some small Ku Klux Klan units, dozens of clergymen in the Carolinas attacked the hoodlums from their pulpits. This would have been unthinkable thirty or thirty-five years ago. The Methodist Episcopal Church, South (now part of the main Methodist fellowship) was the first non-Jewish organization in America to officially condemn Hitler's racial laws.
65. **The Carolina Israelite**, (Charlotte, N. C.). The Story of the Trial and Conviction of the Klan leaders, October, 1952.

66. The late Josephus Daniels, editor of the Raleigh **News and Observer**, Secretary of the Navy in the Wilson Administrations, and Ambassador to Mexico in the Administration of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, was the pioneer Christian Zionist on the American scene. He represented President Wilson at the celebration in New York following the Balfour Declaration and said on that occasion (March 14, 1918): "Who knows but what in a modern Judea, where every hill and valley rings with imperishable utterances of an Isaiah and a Jeremiah ,of a Micah and an Amos, there may be born some new truth to bless the world and lead mankind to even greater heights than it has attained."

ONE-DOLLAR PAMPHLETS

by

Harry L. Golden

Editor

The Carolina Israelite

1. JEWISH ROOTS IN THE CAROLINAS
2. THE CAROLINA ISRAELITE, 1946-1947
3. THE CAROLINA ISRAELITE, 1948-1949
4. THE CAROLINA ISRAELITE, 1950-1951

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